

**The University of Hull**

**GENDER, DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE  
IN ROTE, EASTERN INDONESIA**

**being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of**

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**by**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores gender relations in the island of Rote in Indonesia. It examines Rotenese social organization and the role of women in development. In this case the researcher is of the same culture of the people being studied: the analysis is derived from social science informed by local knowledge.

The thesis argues that gender relations among the Rotenese have a complementary nature. Rotenese society and culture have been subjected to many dualistically inclined interpretations. In this analysis of Rotenese social organization dualism is shown to be fundamental to all aspects of Rotenese life. Gender relations, therefore, are discussed in terms of a binary category. It is impossible to study women in isolation from men because in the Rotenese cultural context they function as a pair. This dualism, which at first sight gives a sense of opposition between male and female, and between 'outer house' (male) and 'inner house' (female) domains, is revealed on closer examination as a complementary relationship, in which the two halves, men and women, make a complete whole.

The main themes considered in this thesis are as follows:

(i) The political system of Rote from the colonial past to the present is discussed by reference to its dualistic orientation.

(ii) Kinship is examined in terms of male descent and female affiliation. A closer examination of the Rotenese marriage transactions reveals the high status of women.

(iii) The gender division of work in the 'inner house' is described in detail as a female domain. It is then shown that there is a blurring of the boundary between the 'inner house' and the 'outer house'.

(iv) The gender division of work in the 'outer house' is described as a male domain, but in response to development, there is an increasing participation of women in this male domain.

(v) The combination of national development and Indonesian nation-building also influences gender relations in Rote, and this is considered together with the role of Rotenese women in development.

Finally, it is stressed that the analyst's evaluation of male and female contributions to the family is not necessarily the way Rotenese perceive or make sense of their gender relations.

**In the Lord, however, woman is not independent of man,  
nor is man independent of woman.  
For as woman came from man, so also man is born of woman.  
But everything comes from God.  
1Corinthians 11:11-12**

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## CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iv
CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi

<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1. Theoretical Background	1
2. Research Methodology	9
3. The Structure of the Thesis	13
 <b>CHAPTER TWO: GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND</b>	 <b>18</b>
1. Geography and Climate of Rote	18
1.1 Geology and Regional Setting	18
1.2 Climate	19
2. The People of Rote and Myths of Origin	21
2.1 People of Rote	21
2.2 Myths of Origin	26
2.3 The Rotenese Language	31
3. Economic Background	33
3.1 The Myths of Goddess Lakamola	33
3.2 Agriculture	37
3.3 Animal Husbandry	41
3.4 Lontar in Rotenese Livelihood	42
4. Summary and Conclusion	44
 <b>CHAPTER THREE: THE POLITICAL SYSTEM</b>	 <b>46</b>
1. Introduction.	46
2. The Portuguese in Rote	49

3. The Dutch in Rote (1653-1942)	50
4. The Political Leaders	60
4.1 Manek (Lord of Nusak)	60
4.2 Mane-Feto or Fetor (The Female Lord)	60
4.3 Mane Dae Langgak (Lord of the Earth)	62
4.4 Mane Dombe or Mane Dope (The Lord of Knife)	63
4.5 Mane Sio or Sio Ai (Nine Lords or Nine Trees)	63
4.6 Mane Leo (Lord of the Leo or Clan)	64
5. Social Leaders	64
6. Rote in the Republic of Indonesia	66
7. Summary and Conclusion	69
 <b>CHAPTER FOUR: KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE</b>	 71
1. Kinship and Gender Relations	71
1.1 Consanguineal Relationships	73
1.2 The Rotenese Concept of Gender	76
2. Rotenese Traditional Marriage and Bridewealth	79
3. Rotenese's Myths of Bridewealth	89
4. Female Inheritance	94
5. Summary and Conclusion	96
 <b>CHAPTER FIVE: GENDER DIVISION OF WORK IN THE INNER HOUSE (UMA DALEK)</b>	 98
1. Introduction	98
2. Women's Work in the Inner House (Uma Dalek )	103
2.1 Culinary Activities	103
2.2 Nursing and Child Care	107
2.3 Production and Acquisition of Household Items.	109
2.4 Cleaning the House	110
2.5 Water Collecting	110
2.6 Firewood Collecting	111
2.7 Vegetable Cultivation	112
2.8 Palm Sugar Production	113
2.9 Weaving	115
2.10 Palm Leaf Weaving and Plaiting	120

2.11 Salt Production	121
2.12 Pig Rearing	122
2.13 Poultry Keeping	123
3. Summary and Conclusions	123
 <b>CHAPTER SIX: GENDER DIVISION OF WORK IN THE OUTER HOUSE (UMA DEAK)</b>	 125
1. Introduction	125
2. Gender Division of Work in the Outer House (Uma Deak)	125
2.1 Rice Cultivation	126
2.2 Gardening (Shifting Cultivation)	131
2.3 Multi-Crop Gardening (Mamak)	135
2.4 Animal Breeding	136
2.4.1 Goats and Sheep	137
2.4.2 Cattle Breeding	138
2.5 Lontar Palm Tapping	139
2.6 Fishing	140
3. Summary and Conclusions	142
 <b>CHAPTER SEVEN: THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ON ROTE</b>	 144
1. Introduction	144
2. Agricultural Development	145
2.1 Rice	145
2.2 Maize	149
2.3 Cassava, Sweet Potato and Groundnut	150
2.4 Vegetables and Fruits	153
2.5 Tree-crop Production	154
2.6 Livestock	154
2.7 Fishing	158
2.8 Tourism Projects	160
3. Social Development	167
3.1 Education	168
3.2 Health	172
3.3 Family Planning	174
3.4 Housing, Clean Water and Electricity in Rote	175

3.5 Transportation and Communication	177
3.6 Religion	178
4. Socio-Economic Condition of Three Subdistricts	181
5. Summary and Conclusions	185
 <b>CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ROLE OF ROTENESE WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT</b>	 187
1. Introduction	187
2. Women's Organization in NTT and Rote	191
2.1 TP-PKK	191
2.2 Dharma Wanita Nusa Tenggara Timur	194
2.3 BKOW Nusa Tenggara Timur	196
3. Women's Programmes in NTT (including Rote)	199
4. TP-PKK Programmes in Rote-Ndao 1991-1992	204
4.1 Mental and Spiritual Programme	207
4.2 Economic/Cooperative Programme	207
4.3 Educational and Training Programmes	208
4.4 Health and Family Planning Programme	208
4.5 Environment	209
4.6 Law Programmes	209
4.7 Rotating Credit among Women	209
5. The Impct of Development on Women	210
6. Summary and Conclusions	211A
 <b>CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</b>	 212
 <b>APPENDICES</b>	 221
Appendix I: Document No.22 Buitenzorg 13 April 1877.	224
Appendix II: Document No. Pem. 66/1/2 Kupang, 28 Pebruari 1962	230
Appendix III: Document No. Pem. 66/1/2 Kupang, 11 April 1968	231
Appendix IV: Women's Organizations in Indonesia (Functional Organizations of Dharma Wanita)	234
Appendix V: Map of Indonesia	235



Appendix VI: Map of The Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur	236
Appendix VII: Map of The Island of Rote	237
Appendix VIII: The Daily Activity of a Housewife in Rote Barat Daya	237A
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	238
GLOSSARY	239
BIBLIOGRAPHY	244

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	National Administration Hierarchy in Indonesia	66
Figure 2	Social Genealogical Organization	71
Figure 3	Lineage Groups of Nusak Thie	72
Figure 4	Kinship Relationships in Rote	74
Figure 5	Gender Roles in Rice Cultivation	127
Figure 6	The Composition of Livestock in Rote in 1991	137
Figure 7	Gender Distribution in Additional Work in Lalukoen (Rote Barat Daya)	142
Figure 8	Production of Dry-rice, Wet-rice and Maize 1990-1991	149
Figure 9	Production of Cassava, Sweet Potato and Groundnut 1990-1991	153
Figure 10	Domestic and Foreign Tourists in Rote 1988-1990	166
Figure 11	The Number of Male and Female Students in Kupang	172
Figure 12	Level of Employment of Three Subdistricts of Rote	182
Figure 13	Level of Education of Three Subdistricts of Rote	183
Figure 14	Structure Organization of TP-PKK	193
Figure 15	Structure Organization of Dharma Wanita Nusa Tenggara Timur	194
Figure 16	Structure Organization of KOWANI-BKOW-GOW	196

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	The Rotenese Population in Timor 1930 & 1950 (Western part of Timor)	22
Table 2	The Population of NTT/District of Kupang/Rote in 1991 in 1991	23
Table 3	The Number of Rotenese in Subdivision of Kupang in 1930, 1950, 1991	24
Table 4	The Population of Rote/Subdistrict 1991	24
Table 5	Proto-Austronesian Terms and their Related Forms in Several Modern Languages	29
Table 6	Rotenese Dialects	32
Table 7	Dry Land Usage in Rote	40
Table 8	The Number of Primary Schools in Rote (1730-1991)	52
Table 9	Gender Division of Work in the 'Inner House' ( <i>Uma Dalek</i> )	104
Table 10	Gender Division of Work in the 'Outer House' ( <i>Um Deak</i> )	126
Table 11	The Area of Ricefields in Rote 1990 and 1991	146
Table 12	The Area of Gardens 1990 and 1991	147
Table 13	Wet-rice ( <i>Sawah</i> ) Production in 1991	147
Table 14	Maize Production in 1991	149
Table 15	Cassava Production in 1990 and 1991	151
Table 16	Sweet Potato Production in 1990 and 1991	151
Table 17	Groundnut Production	152
Table 18	Vegetable Production in Rote 1991/kwintal	153
Table 19	Fruit Production 1991	154
Table 20	Tree Crop Production 1991	155
Table 21	The Number of Livestock in 1991	155
Table 22	A Comparative Data of Livestock between 1921 and 1991	155
Table 23	Fish Production 1991/ton	158
Table 24	The Fishermen in 1991	160
Table 25	Tourist Development Plan in NTT (including Rote)	161
Table 26	The Number of Tourists and Tourist Accommodation in Rote in 1991	167
Table 27	Schools, Teachers and Students in Rote 1991	168
Table 28	The Number of Public and Private Primary Schools in Rote 1991	171
Table 29	The Number of Schools in Kabupaten (District) Kupang and Rote	171
Table 30	Health Facilities in Rote 1991	173

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1. Theoretical Background**

This thesis is a study of the nature of gender relations on the island of Rote in eastern Indonesia and of the involvement of Rotenese women in development. It examines gender relations in the social, economic and political domains of Rote and the changing role of Rotenese women. In particular the kinship structure is examined to locate and explain the complementary nature of gender relations among the Rotenese.

As a Rotenese myself, my starting point was not the literature on Rote, but my experiences of my own culture. This reflexivity is not made explicit in this study, but implicitly informs my interpretation of the literature and the data that I collected. The literature on Rote is considerable, and we are fortunate in having modern studies of the society and culture by Dr James Fox (1966, 1970, 1985, 1993). I base my findings on gender relations within the theoretical framework of gender as dualistic category which Fox regards as archetypal for eastern Indonesia, and especially for Rote. I develop his dualistic analytical perspectives which are based on impressive ethnographic data, in areas of gender he does not detail, particularly in the field of change and development.

This thesis also attempts to show how apparently abstract and theoretically oriented approaches towards understanding Rotenese society have validity in the more applied areas of development. From my own experience as a Rotenese, and from extensive fieldwork among my people, I wish to show that women in Rote are actually involved in activities in both the domestic and public domains of social existence. The Rotenese and their culture have been subjected to many dualistically inclined interpretations and it has been suggested that in the present context of social change, this dualism is becoming blurred. However, I intend to show that dualism is still central in Rotenese ideology and social life, but is manifesting itself in different ways in the modern context. Dualistic categories can be used to understand gender relations



among the Rotenese and they suggest complementary rather than hierarchical relations.

Theoretically, I must begin with gender. I follow Ostergaard in taking gender to refer to the qualitative and interdependent character of women's and men's position in society (Ostergaard 1992:6), and I accept that gender roles and gender identities vary cross-culturally and are learnt behaviour (Oakley 1972:158). To me, gender is a social phenomenon which is socially constructed and is undergoing changes due to development and other forms of change. Since gender is created by society, its meaning will vary from society to society, and will change over time. It was proposed in a conference held in 1983 in Princeton, New Jersey that local constructions of gender relations be understood within their own terms, distinct from the supposedly universal but actually culture bound perspective then held by some Euro-American feminists (Atkinson & Errington 1990:VIII). This was a vital distinction and this study will concentrate on local constructions of gender relations by recognizing the enormous variation in gender roles and identities that exist within human society.

To understand the local construction of gender relations in the islands of Eastern Indonesia, it is necessary to recognise that many of the societies, including Rote, possess elaborate symbolic classification systems of ancient origin. These systems link the macrocosmos of the heavens with the microcosmos of the human world. At their core they are dualisms of opposed categories such as left and right, earth and sky, night and day, which frame humanity's relation to the universe. These same dualisms are used to symbolically order human relations in social classifications, and the most important one for this study is male to female. Thus it is that Atkinson and Errington can refer to the opposed categories of male and female in the dualistically inclined islands of Eastern Indonesia as being 'rejoined in cosmic synthesis' (1990: VIII).

In Rote then we find the use of gender categories as modes of social classification. They are used to express complementarity in all spheres of life. Consider the definition of 'complementary' given by the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary which states:

If two or more things are complementary, they are different but together form a complete or better whole. The roles of the sexes are

complementary to one another (1989: 284).

This fits Rotenese ideas of one aspect of the relation between the sexes. But in this thesis I wish to examine Rotenese gender relations as complementary but asymmetrical, recognising that the content of the roles of the two sexes is different. In Rote differences in the roles of the sexes do not lead to the domination of women by men or vice-versa because the participation of both female and male elements is integral to the Rotenese social and economic life. This is in line with Hoskin's observation of the Kodi (Western Sumba):

In general terms, the pervasive Eastern Indonesian theme of sexual complementarity can be seen as part of a system of complementary dualism that makes the participation of both male and female elements a requirement for all creative production and a characteristic of overarching power (1990:275).

Following Hoskin I will examine gender relations in Rote as a binary set. The elements of the set will be seen as pairs and not as mutually exclusive elements, though this may also be expressed as a unity of opposites. The symbolic importance of the complementary categories of male and female was recognized by the first European scholars to explore eastern Indonesian societies in depth. Indeed, Dutch structural anthropology has its origin in van Wouden's attempt to impose theoretical order on the diverse cultures of this region.

Schulte Nordholt in his study of the Atoni of Timor pointed out that marriage can also symbolize complementarity by '*panu*' or being like the joining of two halves of a coconut, a reunion of the entire system. It occurs with the ideal marriage of the mother's brother's daughter or *fe lalan* with father's sister's son or *mone lalan*, since they are each other's *panu*<sup>1</sup> (1980:235). Marriage in Rote, as described by Fox, also symbolizes a reunion of the complementary halves of a house when the marriage takes place between a girl and her mother's brother's son (1980:13).

Examining the complementarity of the roles of men and women and the relationship between male and female at the symbolic level leads us towards understanding the ethos of Rotenese gender relations. But while symbolic classification frames Rotenese concepts about gender relations, it has analytical limitations. First it



offers only a static model of society and culture. Yet to understand gender relations in practice, it is important to view gender not as a static system, but as a system which takes on new forms and meanings through time. For gender is part of culture, a process in which new circumstances, such as development instigated by external agencies, produces change through the actions of both men and women in their cultural context. Thus the understanding of process must be a central concern of this study. Secondly the symbolic classification of complementary opposites can ignore differences in the content of the categories involved at the ideological level, yet these differences are crucial in the understanding of practice. For while complementarity simply indicates that the opposed pairs of the symbolic classification model should be viewed as whole, the balance between them in the model could be taken to imply an equality between male and female, men and women, if the model is used to elucidate practice. Yet the everyday roles of men and women are not identical, and relations of power between them can be equal or unequal according to context. In practice, complementarity does not mean equality, as will be apparent in the consideration of the division of labour and the associated power relations between men and women.

The gender division of work will be examined, especially how men and women complement one another both in the domestic and public domain, or as the Rotenese express it, in the inner (*uma dalek*) and outer house (*uma deak*). Generally speaking the heaviest work is carried out by men, and the rest by women. Women, however spend much more time in maintaining the household than do men. Despite this division, it is often the women who make the largest contribution to the family's nutrition. While it is difficult to classify which production is purely women's production and which is men's, since they complement one another in every activity, it seems that women make the greater contribution to the family's economic well-being.

Some indication of the way non-Islamic Indonesians perceive gender can be seen in Jane Belo's work on the Hindu-Balinese. Belo described it like this:

... there is no difference between male and female from the day of birth. New born infants are regarded as close to gods, newly come from heaven or perhaps an ancestor returned to the earth. At the age of six, the difference in occupation, begins to effect a certain typing according to sex

which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do the herding of ducks and cattle in the fields while little girls carry water and help their mothers with the household tasks. When they reach adolescence, the young virgin boys called '*troena*' and young virgin girls called '*daha*' have a specific role to play in the rites of passage. Now, even though some of the village has dropped out, men and adult boys still play the same role headed by *anak moewani*; while women and young girls headed by *anak loeh*, dance in the temple and prepare the offerings. When married, the Balinese form a household called *koeren*, in which either the husband or wife may act for the pair. When they become old, and become a grandfather and grandmother, they become very important. They can play a dominant role regardless of whether they are male or female. For example, temple preparations can be done by a woman, while her husband is busy in the fields (1966:13-16).

Belo sees no hierarchical relationship between genders in Bali, an observation which encouraged me to examine gender relations in parts of Indonesia, especially in Rote.

Some appreciation of the significance of women in Indonesian societies can be derived from their ceremonial role. Many studies of non-Muslim Indonesians for example, highlight the ritual importance of women. Leontine E. Visser argues that in Sahu society women also participate in rituals in the ceremonial house. The colours of women's clothing symbolize the days of the ceremonies. The first day, they wear the dark colours of the night, as they are hidden in the dark. On the second day, they dress in the red and yellow colours as the sunrise. Finally, they wear the light colours that symbolize the existence of the new day and the end of the old year. The position of women, however, is strong in the context of the male elements and within the social ties of the *fam*,<sup>2</sup> *rera*, and *garana*. The women play an increasingly active role in the ceremony, until the last day when they dress as men, and take the role of men (Visser 1989:165-168).

Another study by Kana on Savu the island adjacent to Rote, indicated an important role for women in rituals performed. He argued that the rituals at the *taru duru* performed by men may be witnessed by anyone, but the rituals performed by women of the house (*Ina Amu*) in the darkness of the loft are witnessed by no one but the woman herself. According to Kana, the loft, which is associated exclusively with women and women's activities, is the part of the house that is completely dark. Both food and thread for making cloth are stored in the loft: its darkness is associated with prosperity and protection. Ceremonies performed during the rainy season concern dry-



field agriculture and are directed toward a female figure who bears the title '*Bani Ae*' (Great Woman). She is the hidden figure who is considered the giver of rain and seeds, the being who makes agriculture possible (Kana 1980:228-229).

In the island of Flores, the Ria Bewa and his wife Ine Puu, have participated together at the ceremony to honour the "High Existence" of the "Whole Cosmos", in which the earth is part of the cosmos. The Ria Bewa is the head of the unity of the land, and his wife Ine Puu is the Great Mother, who has to prepare everything for the offering at the ceremony (Orinbao 1992:126). The ritual illustrates the complementary nature of men's and women's roles.

In the islands of Bali, Sahu in Halmahera, Savu and Flores then, women are partners of men, and participate in rituals on the same basis. The ceremonies as well as the underlying ethos appear to stress equality rather than hierarchy in the relations between the sexes. My own observations in Rote as well as other Indonesian islands support these ethnographies. When I observed the activities of men and women at the ceremony honouring the *Lakamola* in Rote, both men and women played their own roles. A man takes the role of the *manasonggo* who acts as mediator and invites the goddess to accept their offerings. The goddess is played by a woman dancer. This gender activity not only exists in the division of work between the inner and outer house but also shows a gender complementarity in the sacred arenas.

I had originally planned to focus my study on women in development but, realized the limitations of focusing on women in isolation. The decision to focus on 'gender' rather than 'women' was influenced by such writers as Oakley (1972) and Rubbing (1975). In a dualistically inclined society like that of Rote focusing on women in isolation could have been a very culturally insensitive approach. As Moser explains:

The focus on gender rather than women makes it critical to look not only at the category of women since that is only half the story but at women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these categories are socially constructed (1993:3)

This study will not only concentrate on the social construction of gender but also how it is changing. The social relationships between men and women in kinship, economics and politics will be analyzed from the very basic dualistic or binary

relationship, that of the inner house (*uma dalek*) and outer house (*uma deak*) which dominates the social life of the Rotenese. However, there are signs of gradual change due to a combination of the development of the cash economy and the growth of the Indonesian administrative framework.

Thus development has blurred the distinction between gender roles of the inner house and outer house. Development has also created more diversity though this has not disrupted the complementary nature of men's and women's activities. By maintaining this complementarity the Rotenese may gain benefit from development. From the strict division of responsibility in the inner house and outer house, we can see a gradual change into the sharing of responsibility depending on the circumstances that Rotenese find themselves in today. For example, in the weaving project in Namodale (Ba'a) men and women cooperate in the business. Women do the weaving while men help to sell the cloths in distant markets. Some women also do the marketing. In the tourism projects men also take over some of the traditional tasks of women. Men fetch water, clean bathrooms, replace water in the washrooms, and lay the dining table for the tourists, while women do the cooking. All these observations are aimed at examining the changing appearance of traditional gender roles.

Improving the conditions of inner house condition activities and giving women better opportunities will have an over-arching influence on the standard of living of the household members and this will lead to women having greater responsibility. In this regard I disagree with Solvay Gerke who said about Indonesian women :

... women are only seen in relation to their husbands and or children, but not as independent individuals. It is evident that there is no interest in changing the status of women in the society. The whole process of development-planning, decision- making and, of course, allocation of resources is according to the guidelines, left in the hands of men (1992:48)

Improving the standard of living in the household will inevitably lead to women having greater responsibility for they have contributed to the overall well-being of the household and not necessarily through the hands of men. This is in line with the state guidelines (*GBHN*) for the latest five year plan which announces that :

The role of women in development develops in accordance and in



harmony with the development of their responsibility in role in realizing and developing a healthy, prosperous and happy family, including the education of the younger generation (Soeropati 1991).

In common with other eastern Indonesian peoples, the Rotenese have their own myths and rituals on which their culture is based. Parallels can be drawn in broad terms with peoples such as the Atoni of Timor as observed by Schulte Nordholt:

Their system of politics was indeed a more or less complete replica of their social and economic relations. In particular, it mirrored the agricultural system vis-a-vis cattle breeding. And each of these aspects could be considered individually as the transformation of the myths and rituals on which Atoni culture is based. Conversely, these myths and rituals remained rooted in political, social, and economic life (1980:234).

Myths, rituals and symbols also remain rooted in their political, economic and social life. Changes will be accepted as long as they can be interpreted in line with the people's cultural concepts. For example, in Timor Christianity was more easily accepted after the missionaries explained that Christianity was not a new idea. They took '*Uis Neno*', the name of the crocodile sun god of traditional Atoni religion and converted it to the Lord in Christianity. Schulte Nordholt cites some of the texts collected by Middelkoop a Dutch priest who spent most of his life in the Timor Church which mention Uis Neno in some of his manifestations:

1. Uis Neno, Crocodile: water of the moon, water of the sun. 14. The moon is the wife of Uis Neno. 16. When Uis Neno sleeps (tupan) we do not go forth. 17. The divine man (neon atoni) we call sun (manas). 18. The divine women (neon bifel) we call moon (funan). 22. Awe-inspiring, both of you. 24. We pray to Thee. 25. To provide for us. 26. To support us. 31. Mayest Thou give us coolness and coldness (1971:142-143).

So the Timorese accepted the meaning of *Uis Neno* as the Lord in Christianity, and likewise the Rotenese converted the name '*Lama tuak*' to the Lord in their Christianity. That is the reason why Christianity in Rote and Timor has some elements of the traditional concept of the supernatural power.

In the colonial period the Dutch also tried to introduce changes that could be understood in the local terms by the Rotenese. For example, the concept of *feto* or *manek-feto* (female lord) was accepted since the idea of *manek-feto* is suited to the indigenous concept of dualism. *Manek-feto* is the manifestation of the female and *manek* is male; together they complement each other and create a whole. In

development many things have changed but the concept of dualism permeates all situations. The culture of the Rotenese demonstrates the interconnection between their myth and the social and political organization and their symbolic order of dualism in the sense of complementarity.

By using the anthropological and historical data provided by Fox, together with my own material, I intend to examine the role of women in Rote and the gender relations of the Rotenese especially in the implementation of the National Development Plan of Indonesia (1969-94). Women's participation through women's organizations (*TP-PKK*) and their programmes in Rote will be examined. This thesis also marks an important juncture in the history of Indonesian national development because the Five Year Plans are grouped in cycles of 25 years. 1994 marked the end of the first development cycle and the start of the new national development plan (1994-2019).

## **2. Research Methodology.**

This thesis makes use of an interdisciplinary approach, combining applied anthropology with more historically orientated archival research. Beside participant observation, in-depth interviews both structured and unstructured, group discussions were used. I also draw on documents from the provincial, district (*kabupaten*) and subdistrict (*kecamatan*) levels, and discussions at the University of Nusa Cendana in Kupang and at the village level with the respondents and informants. The major technique was participant observation, which I have conducted since I became interested in Rotenese gender relations. Much of this work was carried out during the two years before I decided to study abroad in 1991. I visited Rote several times, staying in my father's homeland in Rote Timur (Oepao), and my mother's family's village in Rote Barat Daya (Thie). My father's and mother's relatives also came to visit my parents many times and spent several days in my parents' house. On these occasions I took the chance to talk with them and collect the information that I needed. Usually, I went to Rote for TP-PKK (*Tim Penggerak-Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, Activating Team for Family Welfare) activities since I was the member at the



provincial level of the organization. I also was involved in church activities, as a member of the Church women's organization (Wanita GMIT)<sup>3</sup> (*Gereja Masehi Injili Timur*). In addition, when I visited Rote on family business, such as marriages or funerals I took the opportunity to talk to my respondents. The local women appeared to be at ease in my presence and were willing to share their ideas and answer my questions. They said they felt free to express their opinions because they felt that I was part of them, even though I do not live in Rote. The fact that they called me '*ita nun*', which means 'our's' in Rotenese, is indicative of how I was received. I also joined in discussions concerning problems in development, and joined a Rotenese organization called '*Mai Ita Fali*'<sup>4</sup> in Kupang. In the discussion I took opportunity to observe how the Rotenese interact with one another, especially when dealing with people from different domains (*nusak*).

I also administered 200 questionnaires to acquire information on households and to collect basic socio-economic data. The units of analysis are adult women, especially married women or widows, and married men in the household as comparative units of analysis. There were 150 women and 50 men involved in my research. They filled in the 200 questionnaires and some of them were involved in the follow-up discussions. The members of the TP- PKK<sup>5</sup> of the Provincial and district levels, who are in charge of women's activities in Rote were also key informants. Older people in particular were very helpful with regard to Rotenese custom and history.

Throughout the field work I used the Rotenese language to communicate with the people which led to the collection of data in both *bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian) and Rotenese. I will retain the concepts and terminology used by the Rotenese in their own language and will give a glossary because a direct translation often fails to represent the original meaning of these concepts.

In 1993 I visited Rote to do my Hull-based field work. I stayed three months (15 April to 30 June 1993) on the island in Rote Timur, Rote Barat Daya and Rote Tengah (Ba'a). In the morning to midday I visited my respondents and talked with

them, and at night they came to visit me and we discussed many things. Usually, they wanted to hear about my experiences abroad, but I always took time to absorb as much information from them as possible. One important informant was one of the former *fetor* (*manek-fetok*) of *Nusak Thie*, Mr. Wilhelmus Mbate Mooy. He had also been a head of subdistrict (*camat*) in Rote and in Timor, and was thus well informed on local government. He was retired and lived with one of his daughters in Kupang, so it was easy for me to meet and talk with him when I returned from Rote. He enjoyed talking about many things related to Rotenese culture and tradition. He passed away in 1994. His younger sister, Mrs. Lien Franz Mbate Mooy, is also another good informant. She is 75 years old and a widow. Her late husband was a pensioner of the Dutch administration in Kupang. I invited her to stay with me in my house while my husband was in Hull. Another important informant is Mr. Eduard Pah, a retired head master of the Teacher Training School in Kupang. Mr. Syioen, my father's nephew one of the descendants of the *manek* of *Nusak Oepao*, was also an important source of information. He and his wife are primary school teachers and both are Rotenese. Discussions were held in the University of Nusa Cendana Kupang, with various Rotenese scholars. Traditional marriage patterns and social change were analysed during these discussions.

I also collected quantitative data on development of the villages in three subdistricts from the office of assistant district head (*Pembantu Bupati*) of Rote-Ndao. The information obtained from this source was cross-checked with the data from the district the three subdistricts (*kecamatan*) of Rote and villages. I made a cross-check with the data from the district (*kabupaten*) and province. The quantitative data of the development on development in Rote provide a great deal of information on social and economic trends. By combining the information from the subdistricts with the data from the district and provincial sources, it was possible to obtain a broad picture of development in Rote.

The area of this study comprises nine villages from three subdistricts (*kecamatan*) of Rote: Rote Barat Daya, Rote Tengah & Ba'a and Rote Timur. The



subdistrict (*Kecamatan*) and villages were chosen for comparative purposes on the basis of their classification by Bappeda NTT (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur*, Regional Planning Board of the Province of NTT) as 'poor' and 'not-poor' villages. Two of the island's most densely populated villages were among those included in the study. Despite the differences in income the economy of the villages was broadly similar and dependent on rain-fed fields for agriculture, *lontar* tapping, and pig breeding. In the last two years dry field production has been increased by a new method called '*gogo rancah*', in which the land is prepared and the paddy planted one month before the rainy season. By the time the rains come, the paddy has already started growing, thereby lengthening the growing period so that the crop can be harvested in one to two months after the rains. The *gogo rancah* method succeeds in areas that lack natural water resources, such as Rote Barat Daya. There are plans to introduce the *gogo rancah* system to Rote Timur, following its success in Rote Barat Daya.

The three villages studied in subdistrict Rote Barat Daya were: Batutua, the administrative centre of the subdistrict; LalukoEn, a village with a successful *gogo rancah* project; and Nemberalla, a village with tourism projects. Subdistrict Rote Tengah has many natural water resources, and is the best subdistrict in terms of wet-rice agriculture. The abundance of the rice harvest means less dependence on *lontar* cultivation. In Ba'a there is a weaving project among the Ndaonese people, who stay temporarily in Ba'a (Namodale) near the coast. The men are fishermen and silver workers, and the women weavers. Tourism is beginning to provide an additional source of income. Through *TP PKK* women are helped to develop their dyeing techniques and improve their designs in order to sell cloth to the tourists. The men also create many silver items for the tourists. The tourism project was introduced during the last five-year development plan. Nemberalla village was included in the sample in order to see the impact of the tourist on gender activities.

Rote Timur is classified as one of the 'poor' subdistricts in Rote, since all of its ten villages are classified as 'poor'. (Rote Barat Daya is also deprived but has only one



of its sixteen villages classified as 'poor'). The three 'poor villages' that were chosen according to the classification in Rote Timur were Faifua, Hundiho and Daiama. None of the villages in Rote Tengah are classified as poor. Fox spent most of his time in the *Nusak* Termanu part of this subdistrict. Two villages are taken from this area, namely Lidamanu and Puamata to represent 'not-poor' villages. One other village was chosen in Namodale near Feopopi for its women's activity in salt production .

### 3. The Structure of the Thesis

In chapter one I set out the aims of this study, and give an overview of the thesis, the theoretical issues, the research methodology and the structure of the thesis.

In chapter two I provide general background on Rote, and discuss the island's geography and the socio-economic background of the people. This provides the context needed for a better understanding of the other chapters which follow.

In chapter three Rotenese political organization is examined. First, the traditional title system and the political formation of the *leo* (clan) are explained. The traditional leaders were men, though according to oral tradition or '*tutui tetek*' (lit. true story ) there was a woman who was a leader in the *Nusak* Ringgou. Then the history of Dutch colonialism and its impact on the traditional political formation is examined. The Dutch policy of reorganizing the *nusak*, *manek* and the creation of the *fetor* (*manek-feto* or female lord) led to the formation of dual sovereignty. The mutual power of these offices complemented one another and a gender metaphor was also used, whereby the *manek* was associated with the outer house (*uma deak*) or maleness and the *fetor* or *mane fetor* (female lord) with the inner house (*uma dalek*) or femaleness. The creation of dual sovereignty in each domain (*nusak*) was accepted by the Rotenese because of the dualistic and complementary inclination which Rotenese culture emphasizes. In this case gender serves as a metaphor for politics, since the involvement of women in politics is through kinship, (e.g. the alliance system of organization through marriage in the form of wife-takers and wife-givers). During the colonial period women's role in the politics is not mentioned or recorded. Since politics

was outer house (*uma deak*) activity and since the Dutch system was also patriarchal, the Dutch did not encourage women to participate in politics. The Dutch only paid attention to the outer house (*uma deak*) activities including politics. The Dutch changed the construction and function of the traditional *nusak* and leadership, but they did not change the condition of the *uma dalek* where the women still retained the power to control and to manage.

In chapter four the Rotenese kinship system is analyzed. Firstly, I describe Rotenese family structure, marriage and bridewealth. Following Fox (1980) I will also explain how the Rotenese share ideas of male descent and female affiliation. 'However, they conceive of male lines as permanent and persisting and female lines as brief in duration and ever changing' (Fox 1980:131).

This actually points to the different but complementary nature of gender relations in different contexts among the Rotenese. The Rotenese have a patrilineal system, where a woman can stay in her parents' house and be fed by her parents far as long as she likes. If her parents die, her brother must feed and take care of her. When she decides to marry, her brother will undertake the preparation of everything for her to take to her husband's house. She also has the right to get something from her father-in-law after her husband dies. But she also can decide whether she will stay in her husband's family or go back to her own family after his death. Everywhere she goes she is always protected by men either her father or brother or husband, and also by her mother's brother (*to'o huk*) and mother's mother's brother (*ba'i huk*). In Rotenese society, the *ba'i huk* and *to'o huk*, respectively, have a right to part of the bridewealth. The *to'o huk* plays an important role in his sister's child's life, and he has responsibility for all ceremony in relation to his sister's child from the child in the womb to the tomb. The first ceremony for the child is known as *kekela teik* (opening the abdomen), in order to keep the child from harm, to facilitate the birth and make the child whole. The second ceremony is *nggeu langgak* (head-shaving). The third ceremony is *fe dak* and *nafuli dak* (to give the blood and drive away the blood). The fourth ceremony is *sasaok* (marriage). The fifth ceremony is *mamatek* (feast of the



dead). In other words, the *to'o huk* has responsibility for his sister's child from his sister's pregnancy to the death of the child. As Fox points out the role of the '*to'o huk*' is clear as the *to'o huk* treats his 'Sister's child as plant ... the mother's brother's performances, whose intention is to make the sister's child 'grow', from the rituals of the life-cycle' (1971:219-248).

In a Rotenese marriage both bride and bridegroom have their own property and rights. A woman does not leave her parent's house empty handed. She brings to her new home some things (*bua ana fetu* and *bua fua umak*) from her parent's house. Her belongings consist of clothes, woven cloth, expensive accessories of gold or silver and furniture for her household, such as for her kitchen, livingroom and bedroom; as well as a piece of ricefield from which she can benefit in her lifetime. Her family also sponsors the wedding feast (*beli sao mba*). The groom must present bridewealth to the bride's parents before he can take his bride to his house. If the bride is mistreated by her husband she can go back to her family, and her *to'o huk* will mediate her problem with her husband and try to solve it. The husband can be fined for his inappropriate behaviour and only after that is he allowed to take his wife back to his house.

After marriage a wife is offered the right to manage her husband's house. In a traditional house the western part of the house next to the hearth (*ra'o dale* or *uma dalek*) is women's place. From this place a wife can do all her duties, that is *uma dalek* work and reproductive work. Near to the *ra'o dalek* there is a place for her to give birth, and for 40 days she stays near the *ra'o dalek* in order to keep warm and to be treated by a traditional midwife with traditional medicine. From the women's space there is a ladder to the loft or a place where they store the harvest. Thus only the women have the right to control all the harvest that has been brought to the house. A wife also has the right to make decisions concerning her responsibilities in the *uma dalek*.

Rotenese treat their children, either boys or girls, the same. All the rituals ceremonies for boys and girls resemble one another. Only those for girls are held in the western part of the house, and those for boys in the eastern part of the house. Usually, after birth the placenta of a girl is buried, but that of a boy is put in a *lontar*-leaf basket



(*kapisak*), and hung on a tree, so it is said that the boy will be able to climb trees, especially *lontar* trees to tap the *lontar* juice. A girl is not allowed to climb a tree, so the placenta is buried under the tree. There are many ritual ceremonies for a person from the womb to the day she or he dies. All the ceremonies have to be arranged and conducted by the mother's brother (*to'o huk*).

In chapter five the division of labour based on the binary opposition of the *uma dalek* (inner house) and *uma deak* (outer house) is described and discussed. Women's activity in the *uma dalek* will be examined. Women feed the children, carry water and firewood, wash and clean the house and the yard. Women play an important role in the *uma dalek*, such as making decisions for their households since the wife is the only person who can manage the domestic finances and the distribution of harvest for the household, plaiting and weaving. Particular attention is devoted to the changing roles of women in the context of development and how this affects the roles played by men and women. For example, a woman who is a school teacher may have a husband who is a farmer who contributes to domestic activities such as child care etc. in order for the binary set to continue to function in a complementary manner.

In chapter six the outer house (*uma deak*) activities are examined. I show that the outer house and inner house activities are different but complementary if taken as a whole. Women also have duties outside the home. They work in the rice field, engage in dry farming, sugar palm (*lontar*) processing, salt processing, feeding the domestic animals, vegetable cultivation and marketing in the local market.

In chapter seven I examine and discuss the changes and development, using the data available on social and economic development in Rote. For the benefit of the whole study of social and economic data is provided to discuss the social and economic condition of Rote after the implementation of the National Development Plan (Pelita I to Pelita V). During the Dutch colonial period Rotenese education was funded by the *manek* and the people of each *nusak* paid with mung beans (*Phaseolus radiatus*) produced by the people. These mung beans are not much grown in Rote today. Women also had the chance to get a good education. First schooling was provided for

the women from the nobility, and they were followed by other women, usually the children of priests and teachers who were the upper class during the Dutch period. Today the opportunity to get a good education is open to all Rotenese women, even though many women never use the opportunity to educate themselves. When education was classified as *uma deak* activity, many women at first were not interested in it. Later, many women became involved in education in the rural areas. But general speaking the development of Rote is moving slowly compared to western Indonesia.

In chapter eight I examine Rotenese women's activity in development. I consider how women are involved in the development programs and how women's activities are coordinated through women's organizations from the national level to the village level. Women also participate in the development programs through women's organizations such as TP-PKK. I found several female school teachers who are involved in TP-PKK in Puamata (Rote Tengah). The husband of one of the teacher is still engaged in the traditional work as farmer. While she is teaching her husband minds their small children. Finally, in chapter nine, I bring together my evidence that the dualistically inclined society of Rote is undergoing change but the dualism is still maintained in many aspects of Rotenese life. I conclude by considering the implications of this for gender and development in Rote.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>According to Schulte Nordholdt *fe lalan* means the women of the path, *mone lalan* the man or husband of the path. A *lalan* is a path that connects two houses, or *ume* (1980:235).

<sup>2</sup> A *fam* is a kinship unit in Sahu, including three generations and consisting of one or more households. Several *fam* together make up a *rera*. *Garana* is a territorial unit. (Visser 1989:165).

<sup>3</sup> GMT is the Protestant Evangelical Churches in Timor which includes Timor, Rote, Savu, Flores, Alor and Bima. The churches were set up when the Dutch left Timor in 1947.

<sup>4</sup>*Mai ita fali* means 'let us go home'. It is an organization of Rotenese in Kupang, aimed to contact all Rotenese in Kupang in order to share ideas for helping each other to solve their problems and to develop Rote.

<sup>5</sup>TP PKK (*Tim Penggerak - Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*) is an activating team for family welfare focusing on women in the family. Men and women are involved in this team, headed by the wife of the Minister of Home Affairs. At provincial level it is headed by the wife of the Governor, and at the *kabupaten*, *kecamatan* and villages it is headed by the wife of *Bupati*, *camat* and *kepala desa* respectively. The concept of family welfare movement (PKK) can be traced to the early 1970s when the Governor Munadi of Central Java launched a project called 'Village Modernization'. This project later became a model of rural development that would place emphasis on the role of women. The women's component was selected by the Minister of Internal Affairs for application on a nationwide basis, initially under the name "Family Welfare Education" (*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or *PKK*). Later the name was modified to 'Family Welfare Movement' (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or *PKK*) retaining the original abbreviation, *PKK*.



## CHAPTER TWO

### GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

#### 1. Geography and Climate of Rote

##### 1.1 Regional Setting

Rote, Timor, Sumba, Savu, Semaun, Raijua and Ndao comprise an 'outer arc' of islands which lies outside a ring of volcanoes. All the islands have long dry seasons which result in semi-arid conditions and savannah type landscapes. These islands are close to Australia and are therefore influenced by the dry winds of the east monsoon which blows from the Australian interior. The outer arc islands lie within an unstable tectonic belt sweeping in a curve from Seram, through Java to Sumatra. They are separated from a parallel belt of seismic activity to the north by the volcanically active inner arc islands.

Rote and the other outer arc islands are part of *Nusa Tenggara Timur*, one of the 27 provinces of Indonesia. This province is comprised of 566 islands which stretch from 118° to 125° east and from 8° to 12° south. Rote, the southern-most island of NTT, lies to the southwest of Timor between 10°30'-12° south and between 122° and 123° east (see Map 2). The island measures 80 kms by 25kms and has an estimated area of 1607.10 square kms (*Nusa Tenggara Timur Dalam Angka* 1989:3; *Kupang Dalam Angka* 1991:1).

Rote lies between the Indian Ocean and the Savu Sea and is separated from Timor by the Pukuafu straits. It takes roughly 4-5 hours to cross the straits by modern ferry and even longer with a traditional ship. The straits, which are known as the graveyard of the Rotenese, are particularly dangerous in July and August. For those who can afford it, there is the air line service provided by *Merpati Nusantara Airlines (MNA)*, which takes approximately 30 minutes from Kupang to Rote.

The people of Rote think of the island as having two distinct geographical zones: *Dae Duluk* (*daE*, land; *duluk*, the sun rising) or east Rote and *Dae Mulik* (*mulik*, the sun set) or west Rote. These two parts of Rote are divided by the river Olalain in *Nusak*



Termanu. Its major town is Ba'a on the north coast (see Map 3). The island adjacent to Rote are: Ndao, Nuse, Ndana, Landu, Helianak, Manuk, Lai, Bibi, Ajana and Doo. They are also administratively part of Rote. The important harbours of Rote are: Namodale in Ba'a, Rotedale in Landu, Pantai Baru in Korbaffo, Pepela in Ringgou, Pouk in Bilba, Cyrus in Thie, Tongga in OEnale, and Nemberalla in Delha. Rotenese contact with the outside world has long been associated with the ports. There are some bays in the eastern part of Rote that can be used as harbours, such as Pepela, Pantai Baru, OEo, and Pouk. The bays of Pepela and Korbaffo may be united during high tides, thereby separating *nusak* Landu from the other nearby small islands. The eastern part of Rote with its good sea-ports allows the inhabitants to communicate easily with outsiders. For example, the *maneks* (*manek* is the lord of a *nusak*, a traditional domain of Rote) who were the first to be contacted by the Dutch were *maneks* of *nusak* OEpaio, Ringgou, Bilba and Landu in 1653. They were followed by the other *manek* of the western part of Rote. The *nusak* comprises a group of *leo* (clans) with traditional leaders. All members of the *nusak* were expected to be linked by *leo* ties to the other inhabitants. The term *nusak* refers to a unit based on genealogy. Newcomers therefore had to marry into the system, and thus become a member of their spouse's *leo*. Traditionally, the island of Rote consists of 18 domains or *nusak*, and 19 if one includes the island of Ndao, although the Ndao language is influenced by Savunese.

## 1.2. Climate

Rote has two distinct climatic seasons: the east monsoon from April to October brings dry, gusty, hot winds, while the west monsoon from November to April brings sporadic rain. A dry easterly airflow from Australia sweeps the area from April to October, followed by moist air from Southeast Asia, from November to March. So in contrast to western Indonesia, Rote is subject to a long dry season. The average rainfall is about 1,500 mm, but this is subject to great variations from year to year, and to elevation and geographical location. It is not only the quantity of rainfall that varies annually, but also its duration and distribution during the moist westerly airflow (Wainwright 1972: 4).<sup>1</sup>

Mean monthly temperatures vary between 25.3°C in July and 36.3°C in October. Humidity varies between 85% in February and 58% in September. While these variations are not critical to forestry, fishing and animal husbandry, they certainly are to shifting cultivation. The *ladang* (dry land farm) farmer is wholly dependent on seasonal rains. The Meteorological Department encourages the *kecamatan* (subdistrict) authorities to collect daily rainfall statistics because they recognize the importance of rainfall for agriculture and water resource management, and this is now carried out. However long term rainfall data on Rote and Savu is available only for Ba'a and Seba respectively; the average for Ba'a over the year 1970 was 960 mm. The length of the dry season indicates that Ba'a is more arid than almost all parts of Timor and it is probable that some parts of Rote are considerably drier than Ba'a.

According to published data for a dry year there were only 7 days of rain per month four months, with a total annual rainfall of approximately 140 mm in 1990 (Kupang Dalam Angka 1990). Foreign consultants have argued that the only way to protect agriculture in a climate such as this is by irrigation from rainwater catchment dams (*waduk*), diversion weirs (*bendungan*) and wells, or by developing techniques of soil and water conservation and dry land farming (Wainwright 1972: 5).

Rote's vegetation is similar to that of Timor; *kayu putih* (eucalyptus), and *lontar* palm (*Borassus Flabellif*) savannah cover large areas. The latter is being utilized by the Rotenese and the Savunese (Ormeling 1956:143). Current development plans based on experience gained in comparatively wet western Indonesia tend not to overlook the nine traditional crops apart from rice that are well adapted to local conditions. Thus, there is an emphasis on rice cultivation at the expense of traditional economic activities such as *lontar* tapping. Developers overlook the fact that famine is rarely experienced in Rote and Savu, where lontars are tapped in contrast to Timor and Sumba (Ormeling 1956:143; Fox 1971).



## 2. The People of Rote and Myths of Origin

### 2.1. People of Rote

The people of Rote recognize a common identity and call themselves *Orang Rote* when using the national language. *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian) which was introduced by the Dutch as *bahasa Melayu* when they established the first school system. Later this language become the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. All age groups in Rote are able to communicate in Indonesian and the islanders worry that their language may eventually disappear. When communicating in their local language the Rotenese divide into two dialect groups: the inhabitants of the west, *hatahori Lote* (*hatahori* or *hataholi*, people and *Lote*, Rote) and people of the east *Dahena Lote* (*dahena*, people).

There is some controversy over the name for the island. The Rotenese prefer to use the term *Rote* or *Lote* for their island, though most official documents originating from the island, including the *kecamatan* (subdistricts), still use 'Roti'. The term Roti used by the present Indonesian government is actually a continuation of the term used by the Dutch, as explained by Fox :

By the mid-seventeenth century, Dutch East Indian Company documents introduce the new name Rotti, using three variant spellings : Rotti, Rotty and Rottij. This official designation continued into the twentieth century. De clerq (1894) and Wichmann, the geographer (1894), were among the first to shorten the name to 'Roti'. The linguist Jongker, for example, while recording the native usage as Rote/Lote in his dictionary (1908), nonetheless chose to refer to the island in his publication as 'Roti' (1969:650).

Fox himself has continued to use the term 'Roti' even after extensive fieldwork and noting the terms 'Rote' and 'Lote'. Other ethnographers such as Nicks, Kruyt, van de Watering and Buhler, have spelt the name as Rote in conformity with native usage and it is this convention which van Wouden adopted. Rodney Needham has followed this usage, despite objections from M.A.Jaspan (van Wouden 1968:62-64; Needham, Jaspan and Fox 1969:649-657). I prefer to use the term 'Rote', as used by van Wouden and Needham, for it is the term which the Rotenese themselves use, and I believe that local orthography should be given credence in the context of this study. The name Rote is said to be derived from an encounter between the Portuguese and the



islanders. According to local sources a man was asked by the Portuguese for the name of the island. He thought he was being asked for his own name, which was Rote or Lote. In Thie, Dela and Oenale the name is pronounced Rote, while in Termanu, Ba'a, Dengka and Loleh it is rendered as Lote. Rote or Lote probably was one of the members of the traditional leading lineage of Rote. The other name for this island is *Kale* which can be found in the old saying '*Lote ta lolo ei, do kale ta ifa lima*' (Lote does not sit with legs stretched or *Kale* does not fold the arms). This saying implies that the Rotenese do not admire laziness or slowness in people.

The islanders see themselves as hard working people, a perspective shared by Dutch scholars. Ormeling for example contrasted the adaptability of the Rotenese with other people of NTT, such as the Dawan of Timor. He noted how the Rotenese made use of the *lontar* to help them through the long dry season, whereas the Dawan did not (Ormeling 1956:70). The island of Timor is bigger than Rote, so the Dawan could turn to the land for their living, while Rote and Savu have turned to the *lontar* palms and the sea to make a living. *Lontar* palm cultivation is the way Rotenese have adapted to the natural challenges of their small island.

Compared with the other outer arc islands Rote is densely populated and there is a long tradition of migration to Kupang. According to the census of 1930, the Rotenese on Timor numbered more than 17,146 or almost 5 per cent of Timor's population. In 1951, another census taken by Balai Perancang Tata Bumi showed their numbers had risen to 22,200. The average annual increase is estimated to be 5,000 representing a rise of 1.2 per cent. Since 1930 the number of Rotenese in the town of Kupang has doubled (see table 1).

**Table 1. The Rotenese population in Timor 1930 & 1950 (Western part of Timor)**

The Administration Area	1930	1951
Subdivision of Kupang	14,383	16,300
Town of Kupang	1,721	4,200
Subdivision of South Central Timor	598	800
Subdivision of North Central Timor	137	500
Subdivision Belu	307	400
Total	17,146	22,200

Source: Ormeling 1956:148

According to Ormeling the growth of Rotenese population on Timor is mainly attributed to continuing immigration. The Rotenese are spread over 131 *kampungs* (hamlets), mainly along the coastal strip from Oesina in the southwest to Sulamu on the northern shore of Kupang Bay.

**Table 2. The population of NTT/District of Kupang/Rote in 1991**

Area	Male	Female	Total	% Growth Rate
Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur	1,567,771	1,601,043	3,168,814	1.95
District of Kupang	276,346	252,023	528,369	0.91
Rote (6 Subdistricts + Ndao)	47,657	45,953	93,592	0.91

Source: Kabupaten Kupang Dalam 1991; Kupang dalam Angka 1991: (1980-1990)

Table 2 shows that the population of NTT in 1991 was 3,168,814; male 1,567,771 (49%) and female 1,601,043 (51%), with a growth rate of 1.95 per cent between 1970 -1980. The total population of the district of Kupang (*Kabupaten Kupang*) including Rote and Savu was 528,369; male 276,346 (52%) and female 252,023 (48%), with 0.91 per cent growth rate between 1980-1990. Table 1 shows the Rotenese population in the District of Kupang in 1930 was 14,383; the town of Kupang it was 1,721; and in 1951 the district of Kupang was 16,300 and the town of Kupang was 4,200. If the Rotenese still constituted 30 per cent of the population of *Swapraja* Kupang (the traditional kingdom of Kupang) as in 1930 and 1951, the total Rotenese population there in 1991 might be 79,113 or 30 per cent of 263,710. The data show that the Rotenese population had increased by 58,013 during forty years (1951-1991), or 1.83 annually (see table 3), while the population of Rote in 1991 was 93,592 made up of 47,657 (51%) males and 45,935 (49%) females, this representing an average growth rate of 0.91 per cent between 1980-1990. Thus, the percentage of migrants to Kupang is less than 1.83 per cent. It appears that the average yearly 0.91 per cent population growth rate of the islands of Rote was not sufficient to explain the difference between the average yearly increase of the Rotenese in Timor (Kupang) and in Rote itself (Kupang Dalam Angka 1991).

Ormeling noted that in the population census of 1930, the number of women



was larger than that of men in Rote and Savu (1,041 women to every 1,000 men). This contrasted with the population of Timor where there was a surplus of men (1,995 men to every 1,000 women) (Ormeling 1956:146). This was caused by more men migrating to Timor, especially to Kupang from Rote. But in 1991 the number of males was only slightly higher (51%) than that of females (49%), which suggest that less men or more women migrated to Kupang in 1991 compared to 1930, or more probably that the structure of the Rotenese population of Kupang had stabilised.

**Table 3. The Number of Rotenese in Subdivision of Kupang in 1930,1951 and 1991**

	1930	1951	1991
	Rotenese	Rotenese	including non- Rotenese
Subdivision Kupang	14,383	16,300	263,710
Town of Kupang*	1,721	4,200	
Total	16,104	20,500	263,710

\*Town of Kupang is part of Subdivision Kupang

In table 4, the composition of the population of each *kecamatan* of Rote is shown, the density varying from the east to the west of Rote. The western part of Rote is more densely populated than the east. Three subdistricts (*kecamatan*) in Western Rote; Rote Barat Daya, Rote Barat Laut and Lobalain, are more densely populated than the other *kecamatan* in eastern Rote such as *Kecamatan* Rote Timur, Pantai Baru and *Kecamatan* Rote Tengah (see table 4).

**Table 4. The Population of Rote/Subdistrict 1991**

Subdistrict	Population	Male	Female	Density/sq km	Area/sqkm
Rote Barat Daya	17,751	8,964	8,787	105.09	168.91
Rote Barat Laut	23,580	11,836	11,744	94.9	248.46
Lobalain	17,310	8,884	8,426	118.8	145.71
Rote Tengah	11,303	5,824	5,479	47.91	235.9
Pantai Baru	10,137	5,160	4,977	57.54	176.18
Rote Timur	13,511	6,989	6,522	44.31	304.94
Total	93,592	47,657	45,935	78.09	1,280.1

Source: Kabupaten Kupang Dalam Angka 1991

Since 1962 Rote has been part of the district (*kabupaten*) of Kupang, which also includes the islands of Ndao and Savu. In 1962 Rote was divided into three

subdistricts (*kecamatan*) (see Appendix II), and then in 1968 it was regrouped into six subdistricts (*kecamatan*) (see Appendix III). The six subdistricts (*kecamatan*) of Rote, which are coordinated by the assistant of the *Bupati* (regent) who is known as *Pembantu Bupati*. The district is headed by a *Bupati* as one of twelve districts of the Indonesian Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (Propinsi NTT). Population density varies considerably from one subdistrict (*kecamatan*) to the other, and is partly related to the fertility of land, the abundance of natural resources, history and climate.

More than 50 per cent of Rotenese live outside Rote, of which about 45,000 are in Timor, especially in the west coast of Timor. Migration, which can be traced back to the eighteenth century, was encouraged by the Dutch. Cooperation with the *manek* of Rote, who supported the Dutch with their defence of the west coast of Timor, was a significant factor (see Map 2).

Most of the educated Rotenese migrants and their descendants rarely think about their homeland, unlike the people of Minangkabau, who are always concerned about their homeland. The Minangkabau are widely respected in Indonesia for the loyalty that they show to their homeland a feature that is widely attributed to their matrilineal social system. Almost every Minangkabau wherever they are, or whatever they are, sends remittances back to their home to develop their ancestral land. The tradition is called *Gebu Minang* which means to develop *Minang*. In Medan North Sumatra among the Batak, there is also a project called *Marsipature Hutama Be (MHB)*, which means develop the village. These are good examples of people who try to develop their home villages after migration (*Mudik, tapi bukan ke China* Tempo, no.6 Thn XXIV-9 April 1994).

The attitude of the Rotenese in Timor is contrasted locally with the Savunese. When a Savunese becomes engaged in a brawl with someone from another ethnic group, such as with a Bugis retailer, other Savunese will help him or her. The Rotenese, however, are said to be less willing to assist with the problems of their fellow Rotenese. They are said to be more individualistic than the other peoples of NTT. The development consequences of a migratory population who do not send remittances to





their homeland is a subject that will be developed later. The Rotenese attribute their individualism to their long relationship with the Dutch.

Recognition of a shared common identity may be lower among the Rotenese than among the Savunese. Differences in the use of language as focal point may contribute to these discrepancies. The Savunese for example have one dialect for the whole island, whereas Rotenese have at least eighteen domains (*nusak*) each with its own dialect. So when one Rotenese meets another they cannot communicate effectively if they do not share the same dialect. As compared with Rotenese, the Savunese feel a strong attachment to their language and cultural identity. In contrast to the educated Rotenese, who commonly use *bahasa Indonesia*, the educated Savunese are usually fluent in their mother tongue. The lack of strong association between Rotenese identity and language may eventually lead to the disappearance of the language, at least among the more educated people who have grown up outside Rote. The absence of language as a strong unifying feature among the Rotenese contributes to their disunity. If educated Rotenese are to be encouraged to think about their origins in the interest of development, it may be that language skills need to be examined.

The younger generations are rapidly losing their sense of Rotenese identity and some Rotenese community leaders feel that Rotenese language should be taught alongside Indonesian. Out-migration among the young and the attendant problems of an ageing population, can only be tackled through development initiatives that enhance the island's attractiveness. Infrastructure improvements such as transportation are not only of local benefit, but may improve the island's tourist potential.

## 2.2 Myths of origin

The Rotenese claim that their ancestors migrated via Timor from the island of Ceram. Fox refers to the myth of '*Tutui Teteek*' (lit. true story) which deals with these migrations as an 'historical narrative' containing many factual elements (Fox 1986:11-15). According to these myths the ancestors of the Rotenese came from *Sela SuE Do Dai Laka* or Ceram. First they dwelt in Timor, and later they moved to Rote. There were two princes named *Henda Oke Liu Lai* or *Hendak Anan* (the son of Hendak) who

occupied western Rote (*Dae Mulik*) and *Lamaketu Liu Lai* or *Lamak Anan* (the son of Lamak) who occupied eastern Rote (*Dae Duluk*). The father of the princes was *Lakamola Bulan* and he is regarded as not only the ancestor of the Rotenese, but also the people of Belu who settled the northern part of Timor. The relationship between the people of Belu, Rote and Savu is acknowledged in another legend, *Belu mau, Thie mau and Sabu mau*<sup>2</sup>, which places emphasis on the need for these people to live in harmony and not fight one another. If they fought among themselves they would be punished by a supernatural power. Folk etymologies link the domain (*nusak*) Bilba to Beluba, which means Bilba is related to Belu. In Belu there are many family names such as Seran and Mau and a place named Malaka which has now become the name of a subdistrict Malaka in district Belu. The story of '*Sina Mutin Malaka*' has been put forward as the story of their ancestors, showing the connection with Malaka. According to these myths the ancestor claimed to have sailed via Celebes<sup>3</sup> and Flores and landed in South Belu.

There are three places in NTT where the people believe that their ancestors came from Seram. There are north Belu, northeast of Adonara, and Rote. Keers, however, has argued that only the Belunese and Rotenese resemble one another physically though sustained research in physical anthropology has yet to be carried out in this province (Keers 1948:135). What is interesting is that local people think that they can distinguish between the Belunese and the Dawan in Timor from their appearance. The Belunese live in the area where the central Timor is narrowest; an area which might be called the Belu Isthmus, the landing place of the past. Some of the Belunese constituted part of a larger group which settled mainly in the east of Timor. Ormeling suggests that the ancestors of the Belunese or Ema Tetun as they called themselves, seem to have been among the invading people responsible for the introduction of an Indonesian type of culture into Timor (Ormeling, 1956:69-70).

According to Keers, the Rotenese who came from Ceram<sup>4</sup> settled in Timor. When they arrived there, they found only a small population of cave dwellers (Keers 1948:135). One branch of the newcomers pushed along the north coast of Timor and



reached Rote. The others remained in central Timor, and became the ancestors of the Belunese. As was noted by Ten Kate, and later Krijt, there was some resemblance between Rote and Belu in language; words such as sword, bow and arrow were initially identical. This myth could be supported by other evidence such as linguistic concepts, the system of cultivation, and the history of agricultural influences, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Meyer, and A. J. van Bork-Feltkamp argued that Rotenese are Belunese but with a stronger Malay element (Ormeling 1956:72). The proximity of eastern Indonesia with Polynesia has prompted analysts to look further a field for cultural parallels. Gordon Dicker for example advanced the idea that the Rotenese are similar to the people of Tonga, a recognition of eastern Indonesia's role in the settlement of the Pacific (Dicker 1970). Linguistic concepts can help explain the relationships among the Austronesian languages. Bellwood shows the family tree of Austronesian languages as a way of explaining the relationship of all language subgroups. Rotenese belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) subfamily and is thus genetically closer to the Austronesian languages of the Pacific than to the western archipelago. What is interesting about the Rotenese historical narratives is that they appear to support to Blust's hypothesis that Nusa Tenggara Timur was settled by Austronesian-speaking peoples from the northeast who then migrated westwards (Bellwood 1985:104-109).

The Rotenese language belongs to the Proto-Austronesian language group. Some words have similarities in sound and meanings with other languages in the group such as Tagalog, Malay, Fiji, Samoan. Below are some Rotenese words and their related forms in Proto-Austronesian, Tagalog, Malay, Fijian, Samoan showing the variety and the similarities (see table 5).

From the language group and the myths of '*Sinan Mutin Malaka*' of Belu, the '*Sela SuE Do Dai Laka*' of the Rotenese can be explained. The ancestors of Rote might be one of the branches of the group CMP, who arrived in Eastern Flores and Timor. One branch moved further on to the island of Rote and became the ancestors of the Rotenese. In addition to language features the Rotenese and Belunese share elements of

a common material culture, especially with regard to traditional architecture. It is

**Table 5. Proto-Austronesian terms and their related forms in several Modern Languages.**

English	Proto-Aust	Tagalog	Malay	Fijian	Samoa	Rotenese
two	duwa	dalawa	dua	rua	lua	dua
four	e(m)pat	apat	empat	va	fa	fa
five	lima	lima	lima	lima	lima	lima
six	enem	anim	enam	ono	ono	ne
bird	manuk	manok	manu	manu-	manu	manuk
eyes	mata	mata	mata	manu	mata	mata
road	zalan	daan	jalan	mata ala	ala	dalak

After Pawley 1974 Courtesy: Encyclopaedia Britanica  
Source: After Bellwood 1985:107 (excluding the Rotenese words)

possible that the word *Malaka* of *Sinan Mutin Malaka* refers to the Peninsula Malaka. The word '*Mutin*' means white and the word *Sinan* means China. Thus, the words *Sinan Mutin Malaka* means 'White Chinese from Malaka'. Chinese made trading contact with Timor a long time ago, probably from the fourteenth century. The people of Timor thought that the Chinese ships with porcelains came from Malaka and later the Dutch followed this trade route, introducing the Indian patola cloths that greatly influenced the traditional textile designs of eastern Indonesia.

Gryzen and Froklage have recorded the 'Malay Myth', that Larantuka (eastern Flores) and Makassar<sup>5</sup> (in Sulawesi) were the places where the Chinese made temporary stops on their journey to Belu in Timor (1904). Froklage also believed that the Chinese sandalwood merchants spread along the Malay-Timor route (Ormeling 1956:70).

The Rotenese believe that their ancestral homeland lies to the northeast, but it remains unclear when the ancestors of the Rotenese began their migrations. Some of the earliest migrants, perhaps the ancestors of the Rotenese, arrived during the Indonesian Neolithic. Some of them left Timor and crossed the sea to Rote. According to the myths of origin the settlers encountered people already living on the island. The first inhabitants known as Laha got along with the newcomers and adopted them as their



own brothers (*lala ei fanga*). The Laha were the senior partners and the original leaders; but they were eventually pushed aside. It may have been the technology of the newcomers that gave them the upper hand. The newcomers developed a new community, based on agriculture and animal husbandry. That was the reason the Laha were given the name *Ngoa laha* which means foolish Laha (Koopmans 1920:12).

The culture of the Belunese, such as their marriage system, irrigation and name of places, are oriented to the west of Indonesia, and originated from Malay culture and language because it is easier to arrive in Timor by ship from Malaka, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, north Maluku, south Maluku including Ceram. Then, some of them continued their journey southward and arrived in the small islands of eastern Flores such as Adonara, and others continued their journey and arrived in Rote. The discovery of a bronze ceremonial axe in Rote is part of the evidence for bronze culture spreading from mainland of southeast Asia to eastern Indonesia, to island such as Rote, Flores, Alor and Kai (Bellwood 1985:284-287). In Alor and eastern Flores bronze drums (*nekara*), are used as one important element in bridewealth, especially for the noble and the rich families.

The Rotenese comprise people who came to the island at different times. The most popular phrase in Rote is "*Ita teme Serasua do Dailaka*" means we came from Serasua or Dailaka, even though they did not come at the same time. They were not homogenous, though they lived together and formed a new community. They were open minded, receptive to new ideas, typical of people who live in an island surrounded by open sea, with relatively open communications. They absorbed many kinds of culture from outsiders such as the Indians, Chinese, Portuguese, and Dutch.

Little is known about Rote in a historical sense until the arrival of the Europeans. The island lay beyond the sphere of influence of the kingdom of Majapahit in Java, though some eastern islands such as Sumba and Savu appears to have had some contact with Majapahit. The island also appears not to have been drawn into Arab and Muslim trading networks. The Portuguese, therefore, made a great impact on Rote when they arrived. Portuguese influences are detectable in language (eg. *kadera*, chair)

and the material culture (eg. 16th century Portuguese hat styles). The *tilangga* or *solangga* of the Rotenese is made of palm leaf and resembles Portuguese bonnets.

The slave trade was introduced by Europeans to eastern Indonesia, though there is some evidence to suggest that they exploited an existing tradition. Sumbanese society, for example, was stratified, with the lowest rank comprising slaves. In Timor there is a port called Atapupu which means 'the slave market', though it is not clear when it was established. Slaves were people who were captured in wars between the Dutch and the traditional leaders, and during struggles between the local domains.

When the Dutch came, the Rotenese were among the first eastern Indonesians to visit their headquarters in Batavia (now Jakarta). As a result of their willingness to work with the Dutch the Rotenese were open to Christian influences and European educational opportunities. That is also the reason why the Rotenese monopolized most of the top positions in NTT after independence. During the colonial period many teachers and missionaries were sent by the Dutch to the other islands in NTT, such as Alor, Timor and Sumba.

### 2.3 The Rotenese Language

As has been mentioned, Rotenese language belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesia (CMP) branch of the Austronesian family which includes the languages of eastern Indonesia, east of Sumbawa. Within that subfamily, Rotenese appears to have especially close affinities with the Ambon-Timor group which includes 22 local languages (Geertz 1963:8-11; Munandjar 1974:6-13; Bellwood 1985:109)<sup>6</sup>. Many languages within this group consist of several dialects. For example Rote can be subdivided into 18 groups with every domain (*nusak*) having its own dialect. As is shown in table 6, however, the difference between the dialects is highly variable.

The vocabulary of the central part of Rote, is more similar to the east than to the west. When a *manahelo* (chanter) speaks or sings, however, he can be understood in all domains. It suggest that the dialects derive from a single language root that were subsequently drifted apart, possibly being influenced by other cultures that came later to Rote, such as the Portuguese and Dutch. The *manahelo* is a man who is usually invited



**Table 6. Rotenese Dialects**

English	West Rote	Central Rote	East Rote
people	hatahori	hataholi	dahena
buffalo	kamba	kapa	kapa
to call loudly	nggou	lo	nalo
to plant	tane	sele	sele
heaven	lain	lain	lai

to sing or to recite the oral history of Rote. The chanter relates the story of the goddess of agriculture, and a history of a clan or a biography of a person during a traditional feast. The role of a *manahelo* is very important because he is the main repository of oral history. The Rotenese were among the first Western-educated peoples in what is now known as the province of NTT. They were taught by Ambonese teachers known as 'Mese Malay' (*mese*, teacher), who had been trained by the Dutch. Consequently some of the earliest work on Rotenese language was carried out by indigenous people.

The educated Rotenese wrote in Malay, the lingua franca which received official encouragement from the colonial authorities. Among these teachers was a Rotenese from Ba'a, D. P. Manafe, who in 1889 wrote an article on Rotenese language in which he divided the dialects of Rote into nine parts according to the similarities of sound of these dialects. First he divided the language into two parts and then into nine parts, the number nine being symbolic of the completeness of Rote (Fox 1986:179). Each of these nine dialect groups comprise two or three nusaks, except Thie, Korbaffo and Bokai which stand as individual domains with their own dialects. Manafe's dialect groups were: 1. OEpao, Ringgou, Landu; 2. Bilba, Diu, Lelenuk; 3. Korbaffo; 4. Termanu, Keka, TalaE; 5. Bokai; 6. Ba'a, Loleh; 7. Dengka, Lelain; 8. Thie; 9. OEnale, Delha.

The list of dialect groups takes into account language, politics and local geography and thus comprises a reasonably accurate representation of perceived nusak

differences. The *nusak* of Rote is a genealogical domain, usually comprising clans of the same origin who speak the same dialect. The Delha, for example, were a division of the OEnale, with whom they share a common dialect. In contrast the *nusak* Thie, despite being close to the Dengka, never shared a dialect and the two were often in conflict with one another. Some clans, such as the Ba'a and Loleh appear to have coexisted peacefully. The clans were not invariably stable units, and one encounters the processes of fission and fusion as in other lineal societies. Lelain, for example, was part of Dengka before it became an independent domain (*nusak*). Bokai also has its own identity. Termanu, Keka and TalaE were once unified as *nusak* Termanu, but were later divided by the Dutch into three independent domains (*nusak*). Korbaffo was also made an independent domain by the Dutch. Bilba, Diu and Lelenuk could be unified because they have a similarity in their dialects and they are good neighbours. OEpaio, Ringgou and Landu also have some similarities, and can be unified through dialect.

In 1968, when the Government wanted to implement the new administration by forming subdistricts, they just regrouped the *nusaks* into six subdistricts. The boundaries were drawn according to geographical criteria without taking into account other factors such as the economic, historical and cultural backgrounds of these domains. The differences between the dialects of Rote corresponds to the formation of new *nusak* and the demarcation of the boundaries of the *nusak* by the Dutch. The formation of new *nusak* and the demarcation of the boundaries of each *nusak* made the *nusak* try to protect themselves from other *nusak*, and created the distance between them.

### **3. Economic Background**

#### **3.1. The Myths of Goddess Lakamola**

*Lakamola* the goddess of fertility is a Rotenese goddess associated with agriculture. Literally, *Lakamola* means the head of fire-fly (*laka* or *langgak*, head; *mola*, fire-fly). Thus *Lakamola* is a beautiful small creature who becomes more beautiful at night when her head is shining. *Lakamola* also symbolizes the Rotenese crops, which



when planted grow beautifully. The story of *Lakamola* as told by the chanter at the great thanksgiving feast to her honour, is as follows:

A long time ago there was a women named Konakiuk. Once when she went to the sea shore, she saw a ship carrying a machete, an axe (*fela, taka*) and *Lakamola*. She took all these things and brought them home and put them under a tree called *Kanunak*<sup>7</sup>. In a dream that night she saw someone had planted *Lakamola*. The next day she cleaned the land in the backyard and planted the *Lakamola*. Several days after, she saw a shrub growing. After she observed them she found out that *Lakamola* had nine children (*Lakamola anan sio*) which were: *hade* (paddy), *pelak* (maize), *betek* (millet), *ngelak* (pumpkins), *fufui* (beans), *lena* (sesame), *peladaek* (sorghum), *tulik* (peas) *ma koto* ( and broad beans).

Since Konakiuk was the first to discover and to plant the *Lakamola*, she was called *Lakamola inan* (*Lakamola's mother*).<sup>8</sup>

The myth of *Lakamola*<sup>9</sup> describes the agriculture of Rote. The story shows a relationship between the newcomers with their agricultural technology, discovered by the first inhabitants represented by a women called *Kanakiuk* who came to take the *Lakamola* with machete, and axe and planted the nine seeds (*mbule sio*). When the ship was discovered, and who was the owner, is not mentioned. But from the myths, it is clear that the technology of agriculture came to Rote after the island was occupied by the mythical Konakiuk and her family. They did not have the skill to cultivate the nine seeds by using the machete and axe. Machetes and axes are made of iron, so this must have happened after the bronze period about 200-250 AD, since Rotenese had ceremonial bronze axes (Bellwood 1985:287). A Rotenese man always carries his machete and axe to clean the land for cultivation. Agricultural technology existed only after the ship had brought seeds and agricultural tools to Rote.

### The Lakamola Poem.

The Rotenese's oral tradition, with their ritual language, contains a great deal of information concerning their history, myths and symbols. The oral tradition is not just the preserve of male chanters since there are also female chanters. Fox points this out like this :

Since ritual language is desired in all formal integration, it can not be the exclusive preserve of any class or priesthood of Rotinese. Women evidence almost as much knowledge of ritual language as men and their

active use of this language is especially required at various stages of marriage ceremonies (Fox 1986:77).

This is a living tradition of great local significance. For example, when there is a guest, the meeting will start with beating a gong which is followed by a chanter greeting the guest by reciting a poem. Rotenese life can be traced through the poems. For instance, the suffering of the Japanese occupation were so great that they put them in a poem which they sang (*Ofalangga*), especially at *kebalai* where a chanter would lead the audience.

The chanter of each *nusak* provided the poem of *Lakamola* at a special ceremony for *Lakamola* called *hus nusak*. Every *nusak* has its own '*hus*' to honour *Lakamola*. The chanter of the *Lakamola* poem has to recite the poem correctly. It is taboo for them to recite it incorrectly. There are many kinds of *Lakamola* poem such as: 'Why *Lakamola* should be honoured', 'the fertility of *Lakamola*', 'the spread of the *Lakamola* in Termanu', '*Lakamola* in Loleh'. In general, all the poems tell about the history of *Lakamola*, how she came from abroad. The poems also show how to treat her so as to ensure an abundant harvest.

The Thanksgiving ceremony in Rote is called '*hus*'. Every *nusak* and some *leo* had their own *hus*. They believed that in this ceremony they invited their god and goddess to attend. Usually, this ceremony was held after the harvest in August. Every household had to offer raw materials and animals in order to eat together at the ceremony. But for the special festival of *Lakamola*, they had to bring a black buffalo, or a black pig. The whole night before the feast started people performed rituals to induce the *Lakamola* to accept what they would offer the next day. On that night all the chanters took turns to chant the *Lakamola* poems to the accompaniment of drums. The next day the ceremony was held by a *manansongo*. He came out from the traditional house called *uma nitu* (the house of ancestor spirits) with his traditional clothes: *lafaina* (big woven cloths without fringes or tassels made specially for men), a red turban and a long piece of cloth called *cindai* tied round his hips with the other end touching the earth. He covered his body with another big '*lafa ina*' and went directly to the place they already prepared for him. He stood there and exorcised by means of his sacred



sentences in front of *Lakamola*, the black buffalo and pig. The sacred words as recited by a female chanter Maria Soru Haning from Thie were as follows:

*Bulak, bulak, bulak, Kona musik boboan kona. Muni tasik maisik Muni tua maoE. Muni Iko mana fifiuk. Muni sula mana memeak, Muni aus, muni uda malole. Ho tete totoli basa mana molik kala ma mana dadi lalaken. Ho daE bafok kala lakabete ma lehenu. Hokela basan lalole lanapu. (Manafe 1970: 48).*

Moon, moon, moon. Come down to the south. Bring the sea with everything in it. Bring the palm lontar that has much juice. Bring the animals that have waving tails. Bring the cattle with long horns. Bring the dew, bring good rain to water all that grows on the earth. So that all the earth will be fed. So that everybody will be happy.

Then the *manasongo* took a seven-foot long spear and threw it into the bodies of the black animals which they had prepared before hand. He left the spear and the animals there until they became rotten because nobody was allowed to take them away. Then he left the place in order to change his clothes. Then people played gongs, drums and other Rotenese instruments. A beautifully dressed girl came to the centre of the place, and she danced around the sacrificial animals. This girl symbolized *Lakamola* and was called *manasole*. The girl's dance was a sign that the feast had started, and then everybody took part by dancing or singing. Among them the chanter still chanted the *Lakamola* poems. The ceremony of *hus* is evidence that the Rotenese treated *Lakamola* as their fertility or agricultural goddess similar to Dewi Sri in Java.

The *Lakamola* myth indicates that agriculture came to Rote at the same time as the rituals in which people believed. Other poems also told about the situation in Rote before they had the rituals. They lived in caves and all the seeds they had were taken directly from heaven and brought by two men and planted in Rote. The two men were named Tolamesa and Leelumu. The Rotenese believe that the two men taught them how to make a thanksgiving ceremony (*hus*) to *Lakamola*. The whole of Rote performed the *hus*, showing their belief in *Lakamola*. They praised her because she was concerned with their economic well being and were happy to perform the ceremony. All the tradition in Rote is oral. All events were commemorated in the poems and passed on to the next generation.

Several critical points should be emphasized in this regard. The Rotinese are concerned not simply with what is said but with the language used to

say it. The historical narratives that I intend to consider are verbal productions. It is essential, therefore, to pay particular attention to the language in which they are told. Although since the eighteenth century the Rotinese have had the makings of a literary tradition in Malay, they have preserved their own history as an oral tradition (Fox 1986:13).

Thus, from the body of the female goddess *Lakamola* grew the nine seeds (*mbule sio*) of the important crops of the Rotenese. That agriculture was brought and developed by women is a widely held belief in Indonesia, for example in the belief about Dewi Sri in Java<sup>10</sup>, Ine Mbu in Flores and Liurai Sonbai<sup>11</sup> in Timor.

The sacred ceremony was conducted by a male *manasongo* with a girl who symbolized *Lakamola* dancing around the animals sacrificed by the *manasongo*. This is a manifestation of gender complementarity in the sacred ceremony of Rote's agriculture. *Lakamola* is honoured as the supernatural power who provided mankind with an abundant harvest. The economic, political and religious spheres are linked by the generation of their fertility goddess.

### 3.2 Agriculture

According to Bellwood by 2500 B.C, the speakers of Central East Malayo-Polynesian language had expanded from the mainland presumably through the Moluccas, to at least as far south as Timor. Their culture of wet rice cultivation was introduced only in certain areas, so that we find today that cereal cultivation is still only of minor importance in Eastern Indonesia, and the Austronesian settlers of Oceania based their economy purely on tubers, tree fruits and other vegetatively reproduced plants. In Timor, people do not depend much on rice but cultivate corn and tubers, bananas and coconuts. Clearly the wet rice culture reached Rote, where the economy is mostly dependent on millet, sorghum, rice and palm juice.

Rote's economy today is largely mixed agriculture, especially irrigated and dry field cultivation, *lontar* tapping and cattle breeding. Rotenese were swift to adopt permanent cultivation and use animal manure and decaying *lontar* leaves to extend soil fertility. As Fox stated:

The Rotenese and the Savunese are gatherers in that they 'harvest' their palms for the great majority of their needs. They are also cultivators on extremely poor land. Unlike the Timorese or Sumbanese, they have



ceased to rely on their livelihood on swidden agriculture; their various fields are generally of more permanent nature. ... They have also surmounted in various ways the difficulties involved in cultivating land, while at the same time maintaining herds of grazing animals (Fox 1977:29-30).

The agricultural cycle is largely determined by the climate. Each month of the year has a special name according to what happens in that month and what agricultural task are undertaken. The former traditional *Fetor* of Thie, W. Mbate Mooy,<sup>12</sup> recorded the names of the months according to *Nusak* Thie and Dengka traditions. The name of these months are with approximate months from the modern calendar as follows:

1. *Bulak Betelai* (*Bulak* is month, *bete* is millet, *lai* , small, January). The millet, corn, and rice, which were planted the previous November on the arrival of the rains, are harvested. Work also begins on transplanting rice, a task mostly conducted by women .
2. *Bulak Beta ina* (*Ina* is large, February). Main crops of millet and corn are harvested, while men are still busy weeding in the ricefields. Sometimes women help the men to weed their gardens, especially the kitchen gardens.
3. *Bulak hade* (*hade* is paddy, March). The heads of the rice become full with grain at this time of year. The men also start to tap lontar juice but only enough for drinking, and not for sugar processing.
4. *Bulak takalalan* (*taka* is axe, April). This is the time when a kind of seaworm comes out in the sea, the local name being taken from its axe-like appearance. The seaworms can be eaten. The islanders begin to harvest the rice, and continue to tap the lontar-palm. Women are busy with the harvest, while the men are busy with the lontar tapping. This is the time when men have to sharpen the inpruning knives, repair or make buckets, and start to manage the lontar.
5. *Bulak Taka Ina* (*taka ina* is large axe, May). This is the time to sharpen their axes, knives and all their agricultural tools. The men start to clear the gardens and rice fields, repair the fences, or build new ones. They repair the houses or build new houses, before the rains. Men are busy with the lontar tapping, and

women are busy with processing the sugar palm from the lontar juices, or dyeing yarn for weaving cloth.

6. *Bulak Nauk* (*nauk* is grass, June). Even though there is no rain yet, because of the dew the fields are covered by fresh green grass, which is good for the cattle. This is thought of as the happy time for livestock. Women are usually busy with the weaving process during this period.
7. *Bulak Neneluk* (*neneluk* is looking forward, July). This is the time to prepare everything for the 'Lakamola thanksgiving feast' or *hus* in August, September or October. This is a big traditional feast of all nusaks, when they ask for grace for their harvest, animals and lontar sugar.
8. *Bulak sufu ingu* (*sufu* is to clean, or wash, *ingu* is hamlet August). This is the warmest time in the year. People usually try to find a cool place under the trees, or sit or lie down to protect themselves from the warm air. In some favoured areas the traditional great feast that was prepared one month earlier is held in the shade of large trees. In drier areas a small ceremony is held to ask for rain.
9. *Bulak Limbe Dengga* (*limba* or *hus* is feast, *Dengga* is *Dengka*, September). This is the time for the traditional Lakamola feast in the *Nusak* of Dengka. Dengka is an arid but a highly populated subdistrict.
10. *Bulak Limbe Ina* (Great *Hus*, October). This is the last month for great feast to provide seeds that, according to the myth, were given to this island by *Lakamola* the goddess of agriculture and fertility. She gave the nine crops known as 'mbule sio' (*mbule* is seed, *sio* is nine) (Memorie, Kantor Yupenkris Perwakilan Rote/Ndao ). Everyone who attends the feast is expected to bring a small basket (*ketupat*) of seeds for planting in the next rainy season. This is the second largest traditional party in the *nusak*. The traditional chanter (*manahelo*) tell the history of every clan. This is also the time when the lontar tapping ends and all buckets (*haik*) have to be taken away from the trees. This is the sign that the lontar juice is drying up.
11. *Bulak OEnale* (*Oe* is water, *nale* is a kind of seaworm, November). This the



sign that the rainy season has begun. The activity in this month is planting all the small or fast-growing millet, maize and rice.

12. *Bulak Rao* (*ra'o* is hearth, December). The people spend most of their time in the fields busy with agricultural tasks. There is no more *lontar* tapping and the stoves for cooking *lontar* juice are closed and destroyed so that new stoves will have to be built next year.

The Rotenese have little leisure time. Every month there is something to do. Men and women work throughout the year engaged in different kinds of activity. There is a division of responsibility by gender. The agricultural cycle of Rote shows that the islander can cope with relatively poor land conditions. Millet, sorghum and other fast growing crops, are planted on November at the first rainfall. After three months they are harvested, except for sorghum which stays in the garden even after the rice has been harvested. According to Chang, cited by Bellwood, the short time-span crops tend to mature early to escape the effects of drought (1985: 239). Millet can be grown on dry fields and the Rotenese cultivate more of this crop than any other people in Nusa Tenggara Timur. Most of the rice- fields in Timor and Rote are cultivated by the Rotenese, such as OEsao, Pariti, Tarus and the Noebaki plains which became Kupang's rice granary. In Kupang the Rotenese cultivate rice, collect palm juice (*tuak*), in addition to fishing and obtaining salt. In Rote, they cultivate rice in the dry land (eastern Rote) and the wet land (Central Rote and Lobalain). Corn, millet, sorghum, beans, peas, pumpkins, can be cultivated in almost every part of Rote. The areas for agricultural activities in Rote can be seen in table 7.

**Table 7. Dry land Usage in Rote**

Kecamatan	Building & Yard ha	Gardening ha	Dryfield ha	Cattle-field ha
Rote Barat Daya	628	4,017	2,168	1,715
Rote Barat Laut	3,585	520	545	3,755
Lobalain	1,515	493	2,396	165
Rote tengah	267	267	572	9,000
Pantai Baru	341	472	342	1,000
Rote Timur	826	1,222	219	5,521
Total	7,293	6,991	6,242	21,156

Source: Kabupaten Kupang Dalam Angka 1991

Beside the dry fields, there are about 5250 ha of land for wet-rice field irrigation; for example, *Bendungan* (weir or catchment dam) Manubulu in Rote Tengah irrigates 1250 ha, Lifuhahani irrigates 176 ha, Umakapa irrigates 184 ha, Manggis irrigates 160 ha, Oeteta irrigates 80 ha, and there are other smaller catchment dam, that can irrigate some more areas for ricefields (Izaak 1991).

In the *mamak*<sup>13</sup> (multicrop garden) a specific kind of garden surrounding a spring, the Rotenese plant banana, breadfruit, tubers, areca, betel and other vegetables. This idea of *mamak* might be the same as the Naulu in Ceram, where the Naulu cultivate taro, yams, banana and sago, in multicrop gardens. Up to 15 different species may be grown together, including sugarcane, manioc and coconut (Bellwood 1956:239).

The cash crops are onions, tobacco, coconuts. Areca, betel nut and tobacco are the crops used for socialization. Cotton, morinda and indigo are planted for weaving and dyeing.

### 3.3 Animal Husbandry

In the west and north of Rote, which are dominated by *lontar* tapping, pig breeding is another important economic activity. Pigs can make use of the *lontar* juice and thus can be kept alive when vegetables and other fodder are in short supply.

In east and central Rote, where there is more irrigation, people breed buffaloes to help them in the fields. Goats are found all over Rote and are treated much like sheep which are also called '*bibi*' in Rotenese. Pig, ducks and chickens are female responsibilities, while sheep and other animals are tended by the male.

The 1991 figure for land used for livestock rearing was 21,156 ha. This land is mainly used by sheep, goats and buffaloes, cattle and horses(2%).

Fox has investigated the correlation between land, people and domestic animals. Buffalo though relatively few in number are the prestige animal. Buffalo rearing requires more land than that required by the combined total of the goat and sheep populations. The human population shows less correlation to land use than goats and sheep, while pigs show the least. The correlation coefficients are as follows:



Buffalo	0.85
Goats and sheep	0.73
Humans	0.71
Goats	0.66
Sheep	0.63
Pigs	0.62

(Fox 1977:44)

Fox also compared the effect of land available on these animal and human populations and correlated them with one another. He discovered that the most significant relation to emerge is that between pigs and people. Areas of high human population also have high pig populations. There is also a greater similarity between pigs and sheep, than with pigs and goats. In the areas of more intensive pig rearing there is a progressive shift from goats to sheep.

### 3. 4 *Lontar* in Rotenese Livelihood

The population of Rote depends heavily on tapping *lontar* palm. There are about 498,000 *lontar* trees in Rote, of which only 269,576 have been exploited (Izaak 1990). The *lontar* can meet many of Rotenese needs. A baby from birth can drink the sugar palm juice, and throughout his or her life many needs can be met by this mysterious tree. All parts of the tree are useful; the juice, leaves, stalks, branches and fruit, can be used by both humans and domestic animals, especially in the long dry season.

The *lontar* juice is called *tuak*. It is taken twice a day from the trees, early in the morning and in the afternoon. It can be used as a staple food or drunk fresh from the tree. It can be distilled to produce lontar sugar or syrup (*tua nasu*), which is made by evaporating the lontar juice (*tuak*). *Lontar* sugar can be used as staple food for the whole family from the very young to the elderly. Further evaporation of the syrup forms a solid sugar called *gula batu* or *gula lempeng*. Vinegar, *cuka tuak* can be used mixed in salad with seaweed (*lawar*), or can be turned into a preservative fluid. *Sopi*<sup>14</sup> a liquid with high percentage of alcohol, is distilled direct from *tuak* or syrup, and can be processed to make wine. *Laru* a kind of beer is brewed by adding roots or bark to the *tuak*. The mixture is allowed to ferment, producing a beverage esteemed by the Rotenese. From *tuak* women can make yeast for bread; it also functions as baking

powder.

*Lontar* leaves can be made into many kinds of household articles such as sleeping mats, and mats for drying maize and rice. *Lontar* buckets (*haik*), serve a variety of needs including carrying water, and sugar-juice, and for drinking. The following items are made from *lontar* palm leaves; the *sasando*, a traditional musical instrument; the roof of houses; the *sokal* which is a plaited basket to keep the harvest for a long period; many varieties of baskets for carrying the harvest from the field. *Bebak* or *lontar* leaf stems, can be used for fences around the houses, or gardens. String and binding material can be made from the green stalks.

A *lontar* timber called *mopuk* is taken from the core of the trunk. Old trees provide a good quality *mopuk* for building house and bridges. In the past people made coffins from the tree trunk. To select *lontar* trunks for houses people have to identify the trunks from male or female *lontar* trees (see Fox 1993:161).

*Lontar* fruits *saiboak*, when young taste like a young coconut. The ripe *saiboak* is sweet and fragrant and is used for many kinds of cakes. When it falls from the tree, animals can also eat it.

The Rotenese point are well aware that the *lontar* tree can serve a person throughout his or her life. The baby is fed with palm juice and as he or she matures his or her material needs are met with objects made from the tree. On death a coffin made of *lontar* wood provides his or her last resting place.

Usually, Rotenese villages are surrounded by a superabundance of *lontar* palms, and there is no need to worry about replanting. The Rotenese do not plant *lontar* palms and point out that they grow by themselves. Rotenese believe that the fruit came to Rote from abroad, together with the coconut. That is why the Rotenese called the *lontar* fruit *saiboak*, which means a fruit from abroad, and refer to the coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) as *nono* or *no*, which means friend. The Rotenese may not regard the coconut and *lontar* as domestic plants, but their actions amount to environmental management. Human intervention is crucial and both species flourish around human settlements. The local people acknowledge that where there are *lontar* trees and coconuts, then they are likely



to be either Savunese or Rotenese villages.

Ormeling stated that the *lontar* tapping industry in Rote shows a striking similarity to that of India, such as in Bengal, Madras and Bihar. It also varies very little from the *lontar* cultivation in Madura, as analyzed by Gebuis and Abdulkadir (1928). However, the industry occupies a far more important position in the Rotenese economy than in that of Madura (Ormeling 1956:153).

*Lontar* juice or *tuak* is obtained, even before the flowers open, from the spadices of the palm found high in both male and female trees, in the axils of the leaves. According to Heyne, quoted by Ormeling, the slow growing *lontar* only begins to blossom in about its twentieth year (1927). Once a *lontar* produces juice it can remain productive for 70 to 100 years, a figure confirming the data compiled by Gebuis and Kadir (1928). Each tree can produce 400 litres in the wet season and 200 litres in the dry season, but the sugar content of the juice, however, is highest in the dry season. *Lontar* tapping is a typical example of a higher level of food-gathering economy with a more elaborate equipment and a higher technical skill. The Rotenese show great agility in tree-climbing and skill in preparation of the buds and in pruning the inflorescence as described by Ormeling (1956:153-154).

#### 4. Summary and Conclusion

The natural environment of a society is a challenge for the society. The way in which a society responds to the challenge has shaped that society's culture. The natural environment of Timor, Rote and Sumba might be the same, but the differences in the cultures lie in how the societies give their responses to nature in order to survive. It is the creation of the society that makes a culture exist. Schulte Nordholt points out :

..the basis of the culture of a community is formed by the use that is made of the natural background in which that culture exists, namely the tillage (*colere*) of the soil and the possibilities of survival offered by the land, and that its climax is the religious 'cult'. All that lies in the magnetic field between the two poles *colere* and *cultus* is connected with both and cannot be understood without a knowledge of both these poles of culture. *Colere* conveys that man fashions his culture and *cultus* implies man's awareness of his independence. The way in which man fashions his existence is determined by, among other things, the soil on which he constructs his house, or in other words, his culture (Schulte Nordholt 1971:27).

On the land, soil and the physical environment of the island of Rote, the people have created their culture in which gender roles are also rooted. The dualistic categories are important elements that are encountered throughout the Rotenese social system.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Michael Wainwright was a consultant to the Timorese Protestant Churches (GMIT) for Economic development. He observed water resources in Timor, Savu and Rote. His report has been used by local government, especially those parts related to water resources and land usage

<sup>2</sup>The Atoni's international horizons were restricted to these three peoples. To these he opposed himself, but together the four of them constituted the familiar world. Anyone outside these was a "stranger" (*kase*) (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 64).

<sup>3</sup>Celebes is the other name for the island of Sulawesi.

<sup>4</sup>Ceram or Seram refers to the same island in Eastern Indonesia. Old literature used Ceram.

<sup>5</sup>The other name of Makassar is Ujung Pandang in South Sulawesi.

<sup>6</sup>The 22 local languages in the Timor- Ambon group are: Roti, Belu, MaraE, Bunak, Kemak, Dawan, Helong in Timor, Ngada, Nage Keo, Lio Ende, Maung PaluE, Sikka, KroE, Muhang, Lamaholot, Alor Pantar, Wetar, Kisar, Leti in South Moluccas, West and East Ceram, Banda, Buru, Kai, Tanimbar (Geertz 1963: 8-11; Widyatmika 1974:6-13).

<sup>7</sup>Kanunak is a tree, and its fruit can be used for glue. Its dried wood can be used to make fire when one rubs two pieces together.

<sup>8</sup>An interview with Mr. Syioen in 1993.

<sup>9</sup>The people of Loleh, Bilba, Korbafo, Lelenuk and Bokai spell it *Lakamola*. The Thie spell it *Lakamora*. Ringgou and Oepao spell it *Lamora*, Delha and OEnale spell it *La'amora*, Termanu, spell it *Lakimulak*.

<sup>10</sup>The land of origin of Dewi Sri is the Southern Ocean ( *Laut Selatan*). Offering of rice and fish are brought to the goddess of the southern sea, Nya Loro Kidul (Krijt 1906: 498-499; Meijboom Italiaander, J. 1928:204-234 ).

<sup>11</sup>Liurarai Sonbai are the rice and corn themselves (Schulte Nordholt 1971:68).

<sup>12</sup>Mr .W Mbate Mooy, the former fetor and camat in Rote Thie passed away in 1994 .He established the agricultural cycle of his people. He also told me his ideas about the democracy of the traditional *nusak*, and the role of the '*lasin*' (group of elderly) who have the right to chose the *manek*, the function of *mane dombe* as a judicative, the *manek* and *fetor* as executive and the mane sio as legislative.

<sup>13</sup>*Mamak* can also be used for a bride gift for a daughter when she marries and wants to leave her parents for her husband's house. In this case a woman can inherit a piece of land either a piece of rice-field or a *mamak* . When there is no son and she is the only daughter, the daughter also has the right to inherit all her parents properties including land.

<sup>14</sup>Sopi from the Old Dutch word *Zoopje*, meaning draught of strong drink (Schulte Nordholt 1971:51).



## CHAPTER THREE

### THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

#### 1. Introduction

Rotenese society is structured territorially into a number of domains (*nusak*) and genealogically into named patrilineal clans (*leo*). Traditionally each clan had its own domain, but since the 1970s when the administrative organisation of the island was changed and development plans were implemented, there has been some scattering of people from different clans into other areas. Though no records exist prior to the coming of the Portuguese, the people feel that they originally had a genealogically-based system which had some flexibility, which was later organised territorially and made more rigid by the Dutch. Settlement depended so much on access to good water supplies that houses tended to be scattered, so that the idea of having village administrative units proved difficult to achieve.

The clans subdivided into lineal groups and extended family houses. They followed a rule of prescribed marriage to the matrilineal cross-cousin, which effectively linked these houses into enduring alliances between lineages. This structured the external links of the house, so that houses were linked to the dominant lineages (and thus clans) of each domain through descent, kinship and marriage. Dominant clans provided leaders, but these leaders were selected by the elders of all the clans of a domain, so the Rotenese feel they had originally an egalitarian kind of political organisation. This was changed by the Dutch, who gave more authority to the leaders, introduced hereditary succession and strengthened the powers of the ruling lineages, creating a stratified society, with ruling lineages and commoner lineages. Slavery existed, but slaves were war captives rather than a social class. The division into chiefs and commoners was retained until Indonesian Independence, since which it has lost force with the stress on equality, the reorganisation of the administrative system, and more general changes in Indonesian society. The old leaders do continue to perform certain ritual duties, and still command some respect.

The traditional political system of Rote has now become past history since the leaders and leadership patterns have changed. Modern Indonesia has one national leader and one pattern of leadership, and yet the cultural value of the system on which the Rotenese tradition is based is still important. The *Palani*, *Manek*, *Fettor*, *Mane Sio*, *Mane Leo*, *Dae Langgak*, *Mane Dope* and *Mana Songgo* are traditional Rotenese titles that have fallen into abeyance. There is however, a great need in Indonesia for better understanding of the value and nature of tradition. Mochtar Naim (1991) and Matulada (1992) for example, have observed and identified some of the traditional patterns of leadership in Indonesia that might be adopted for use in the national system in the next century. According to them, the traditional patterns of leadership in Indonesia are well worth studying because they are based on the ideology and culture of the peoples. Mochtar Naim and Matulada describe three patterns of leadership taken from the Indonesian culture. First the Java pattern, known as *Pola Paku Buwono*, which is characterized by the maintenance of harmony between the ruler and ruled. Second, the Malay pattern, called *Pola Menjunjung Alam* in which two parts are eternally opposed yet, because each needs the other, are always in quest of an arrangement which is mutually beneficial. Third, Matulada's idea about the Eastern Indonesia pattern, called *Pola Punggawa Sawi* or *Pola Kapitan Laut* which is based on the maritime states of eastern Indonesia. The basis of this leadership is by achievement. Matulada suggests that the elements of these patterns could be used to develop a natural leadership which will provide the vanguard to guide Indonesia to the 21st century (Matulada 1992:171-180).

Historically speaking, the Rotenese formed a community comprising many lineage groups or clans each with its own leader. The first Rotenese traditional leader was called *Palani* or *mbrani* which means a brave man who mediated in disputes in the community. Their pattern of leadership was mainly based on the capability and bravery which could be shown in a fighting arena. The winner of the fight would be the new *palani*. Apparently, those who were chosen as candidates for leadership had to have a variety of knowledge to meet the people's needs and their problems, judge quarrels and



provide for the people's security, peace and prosperity. The way the Rotenese chose their *palani* was open, because the fighting was held in front of all the people. During his term of office the *palani* led his people in all situations. In wartime, he would lead his people to war, because he understood the strategy of war. In religious ceremonies he performed the sacrifice, and in agriculture he acted as a water manager, deciding when to plant, and weed, and when was the best time to harvest. It was for these reasons that the *Palani* was someone who was close to the people. His power was not based on birth but on knowledge and the ability to lead. The *palani* was appointed on grounds of competence. He was also the head of the administration, an expert in custom and spiritual affairs and an arbitrator in marriage quarrels. The *palani* was responsible to a group of elders called *lasin* who controlled him, gave him advice and helped him to make decisions. The candidates for *palani* were chosen by the *lasin* who were representatives of the people in the *nusak*. This group decided which one of the candidates would be their next leader after he had won the fighting competition. During the fighting, *palani* candidates wore a traditional woven cloth called *lafa* with a dragon design, a symbol of power. The chosen candidate was he who had the most credibility among the people. Candidates were chosen through careful deliberation. The office of *palani* was not based on the noble line, but on the capability of person at a given moment in time. Fox called the *palani* a war leader, and according to him, the change from war leader (*palani*) to lord or ruler (*manek*) is attributed to the Europeans (Fox 1979:34). The roles of *lasin* still existed during the period of *manek*, and even in the 1990s they are still be respected. For example, those who did not want to work could be fined by *foa mbuik* (a traditional law)<sup>1</sup>, controlled by the *lasin*. The *foa mbuik* is similar to *gotong royong* in Indonesia (mutual selfhelp) which is fitted to national philosophy of *Pancasila*.

No studies have as yet been carried out about the *palani* era, but the name of the *palani* still exists in oral tradition. The history of every period of Rote is recited by a *manahelo* (chanter) during certain rituals associated with either celebration or mourning. In the absence of a written tradition, oral history provides the only source of Rotenese

history. The prospective outlook of the leader of *palani* is important, since some of the elements of the *palani* still exist in the period of *manek* and *fetor* which was supported by the Dutch. The durability of the offices of *manek*, and *fetor* can be seen in the achievement of the *manek* who led the people through the periods of Portuguese, Dutch and Japanese rule into the independence of the Republic of Indonesia.

## 2. The Portuguese in Rote

By the end of 1511, the Portuguese had reached Malaka (on the Malay peninsula) and by 1522, the Portuguese already arrived in the Moluccas (Maluku). Christianity was also introduced and by 1559, they had converted the Raja of Solor, whose wife and family had been baptized by a Portuguese trader (Embuiru 1961:125). The Dutch, however, replaced the Portuguese and Portuguese influence began to decline. At the end of the 17th century the Portuguese were not to be seen in Rote: 'Hoe het zijn van af het laatst der 17e eeuw schijnt geen Portugise Rote meer betreden te hebben'<sup>2</sup> (Koopmans 1920:17).

The Portuguese did not succeed converting the Rotenese to Catholicism, though the Portuguese arrived earlier than the Dutch. In Flores, however, the majority of the population is Catholic, although the Portuguese left Flores at the beginning of the 17th century and moved to East Timur. The staff of office carried by the Rotenese nobility was introduced by the Portuguese who gave it to the traditional leader who they favoured to possess legal title to the leadership of the *nusak*. The staff was not given to the traditional *palani*<sup>3</sup> of the *nusak*, but to people chosen by them. For example, the *palani* of Thie was Tola Lunggi, but Nale Mesa, the grandparent of Foe Mbura was the one who was given the noble staff by the Portuguese. The staff of office was devised by the Portuguese as a symbol of sovereignty for Rotenese rulers. After that time there was a division of responsibility between the *palani*, the staff holder and the religious leader. The *palani* still held the function of the defence leader, the staff holder was the head of administration, and the *manasongo* was the religious leader.



### 3. The Dutch in Rote (1653-1942)

The Dutch came to Rote in 1662, and according to Coolsma's missionary records, the Rotenese came under Dutch formal authority in the same year. 'Coolsma in zijn zendings eeuw zegt dat in 1662 de bevolking van Roti op haar eigen verlangen onder Nederland gezag kwam'<sup>4</sup> (Coolsma 1901:17). During the Dutch period all the events of the Nusak of Rote were recorded, and the borders of the *nusak* were clarified, the role of the traditional leaders was strengthened and they retained their traditional authority for almost three centuries, until the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. The relationship between the *maneks* of Rote and the Dutch East India Company started around the second half of the seventeenth century when in 1653, four *manek* of Rote, OEpao, Ringgou, Bilba and Landu swore allegiance to the Dutch officer in Kupang and ended when the Japanese occupied Kupang on 27 February 1942.

The four *nusak* (traditional domains), whose *manek* went to Kupang in 1653, were from subdistrict Rote Timur (East Rote) since these domains are closer to Kupang than other parts of Rote. Kupang could be reached easily with traditional sailing ships which depended on winds and currents. Sometimes these traditional ships were driven south by the wind to Australia, though unlike the Makasars the Rotenese do not appear to have been involved in trade with the Aborigines. There were also good harbours in eastern part of Rote such as Pepela, Rotedale, Pouk, and bays suitable for shipping, such as Landu and Pepela.

Before the Dutch came the Rotenese already had relationships with many parts of Indonesia such as with the island of Solor (east Flores), Bima<sup>5</sup> (in Sumbawa) and Makassar (in South Sulawesi). Once the Rotenese had sworn allegiance to the Dutch, the Dutch made them cut their relations with their former trade partners. Thus, Rote became established as a Dutch monopoly following the ousting of the Portuguese.

On 27 July 1662, the Dutch and several warring *nusak* in the western and central part of Rote signed a formal contract. The *manek* who signed the contract were the rulers of Thie, Dengka, OEnale, Loleh, Ba'a and Termanu. The contract was used by the Dutch to specify the terms of trade and authority, to which all the leaders of

these *nusak* were bound. These *nusak* were not allowed to have contact with traders other than the Dutch. The trading links enjoyed by the domains not under Dutch control, eventually declined as trading ships of other countries were not allowed to dock at ports in Rote. According to Treaty No. CCLVIII, 27 July 1662, the contract between the Dutch EastIndia Company and the *nusak* consists of seven articles. Fox described the contract as follows:

It was not a contract based on general principles but one that dealt mainly with points of concern in Dutch - Rotinese relations. ... The first article called for an end to all disputes among signatories to the contract. The next two articles were intended to restrict trade to that allowed by the company: the Rotinese were to trade neither with the Portuguese nor with any other native trading people such as the Solorese, Bimanese, or Makassarese without Dutch permission, nor were the Rotinese permitted to sail to those parts of Timor or Solor where the population was hostile to the Company. The fourth article called for a return of all runaway slaves to their respective owners in the different states. The fifth article urged the rulers to confer among themselves to settle all disputes over stolen livestock. The sixth article required the rulers of Dengka, Termanu and Korbafo to report any attempts by unauthorized persons to demand livestock in the name of the Opperhoofd. The final article instructed the ruler of Bilba to return captured prisoners to the territory of Bokai (Fox 1977:96-97).

Within only nine years, twelve out of the 18 *nusaks* of Rote had been recognized by the Dutch in their reports. The Dutch acknowledged the political existence of the following twelve *nusaks*: Oepao, Ringgou, Bilba, Landu, Korbafo and Bokai (East Rote), Thie, Dengka, OEnale, Loleh, Ba'a, and Termanu (Western and Central part of Rote) (see Map 3). Shortly after 1662 the other six *nusaks*, Lelain, Diu, Lelenuk, Keka, TalaE and Delha were recognized by the Dutch. These six *nusaks* were parts of the *nusak* mentioned above. In 1690, Lelain (Ossipoko) was recognized by a contract with the Dutch. In 1700, Diu was divided between Termanu and Korbafo. In 1756 Diu was recognized, though Bokai was mentioned as an independent *nusak* ruled by Mardijkers, the Rotinese commander of the Dutch native mercenaries. Then, Lelenuk, a *nusak* which arose out of a division of Bokai, was also recognised. In 1772, *nusak* Keka and TalaE were recognized as independent *nusaks*. Originally, both *nusaks* were part of Termanu. Finally, Delha was created by the division of *nusak* Oenale. The *mane fetor* or *fetor*, became the *manek* of the new *nusak* Delha, and the *manek* OEnale remained the *manek* of *nusak* Oenale, and neither of the *nusak* have had



*mane fetor* or *fetor* since then (Fox 1971:60) (see Map).

Dutch interference led to the creation of the *kerajaan Rote* (Kingdom of Rote) in 1928 when all the domains were unified. But the *manek* of each *nusak* remained and were still called *manek* in their own *nusak*. There was only one *Raja Rote* (king of Rote) namely JoEl Simon Kedoh. He was a descendant of *fetor* (*manek fetok*) Ringgou, and was an intelligent and well-educated man. The Dutch wanted to control him so they offered him the office of *Raja Rote* in Ba'a. After he died no one replaced him. The united kingdom of Rote created by the Dutch only had a limited lifespan.

During the colonial period, there were several rebellions in Rote. For example, the 'Eko Dengga'<sup>6</sup> uprising was headed by Mone Eli from *nusak* Dengka, supported by Sanda Nafi from *nusak* Oenale. The rebellion ended when the leaders were captured and deported by the Dutch. In 1804 the Dutch sent presents to ten *maneks* of Rote in order to restore good relations. Those *manek* were: Lelenuk, Bilba, Landu, TalaE, Diu, OEpao, Loleh, Keka, Thie, Ringgou (Koopmans 1920:29). Contact with the Dutch brought changes in the political and social systems but some elements of the culture have persisted, for example the position of women in the inner house has not changed radically, but the outer house and the traditional political organization has changed. In this context one could refer to what Prof. VT King has said about the Maloh in Borneo:

However I should note that, with the establishment of the European colonialism and the powerful forces which it released, the social and ideological systems have been progressively undermined. Some elements have disappeared, some others have been radically altered in form and content; a few have survived to provide a certain continuity with the past (King 1985:126).

The Rotenese recognize the changes in advantages and disadvantages of their long relationship with the Dutch. The main advantage was that the Rotenese obtained education and Christianity earlier than the neighbouring islands. Education and Christianity started at the same time. In 1728, 28 men from western Rote (each man represented his *leo* of *nusak* Thie), led by the *manek* of Thie FoE Mbura, Ndi'i Hua *manek* of Loleh, Tou Dengga Lilo *manek* of Ba'a and Ndara Naong *manek* of Lelain, sailed in their traditional ship to Batavia (now Jakarta). This ship was called *Sangga*

*Ndolu* (looking for peace). In Batavia they were taught the Christian religion, reading, writing, mathematics and physics for two years. When they returned to Rote FoE Mbura became Christian, and in 1730 he built a church and a school at Fiulain on the south coast of Thie (see Map. 3). The development of education since the Dutch period can be seen in table 8.

**Table 8. The Number of Primary Schools in Rote (1730-1991)**

Year	The name of the School	Total
1730		1
1735		2
1825	Genootschaap	8
1850	Genootschaap	18
1860	Genootschap 18 + Sekolah Desa 13	31
1870	Sekolah Gubernemen 18 + Sekolah Desa 13	31
1887	Sekolah Gubernemen 11 + Sekolah Desa 20	31
1895	Sekolah Gubernemen 11 + Sekolah Desa 5	16
1911	Sekolah Gubernemen 3 + Sekolah Desa 5	8
1915-1929	Sekolah Gubernemen 3 + Sekolah Desa 23	26
1960	Sekolah Dasar	47
1962	Sekolah Dasar	49
1964	Sekolah Dasar	51
1965	Sekolah Dasar	55
1967	Sekolah Dasar	60
1968	Sekolah Dasar	65
1991	Sekolah Dasar 121 + SMP8 20 + 2 SMA	143

Sekolah Dasar, Primary School; SMP, Junior High School; SMA, Senior High School. The first school was opened in Fiulain (*nusak* Thie) in 1730, and the second was opened in *nusak* Loleh in 1735.

Since the eighteenth century many Rotenese teachers and priests have been sent all over the islands of Nusa Tenggara Timur. Most of them came from eastern Rote, for example Mr. Syioen, Mr. Noach, Mr. Yacob, Mr. Meroekh, Mr. FanggidaE, Mr. Thei, Mr. Baoh, Mr. Lanu, Mr. Adi, Mr. Poli, Mr. Malole, Mr. Pellokila and Mr. Manafe (to Alor and Timor), and Mr. Pada (to Sumba). Many administrative posts of the Government of NTT since independence have been occupied by the Rotenese, such as Amalo, Daud, Sereh, Saudale, Ndoen, Adi, Manafe, Mooy, and Messakh. Some women also gained high positions in the Dutch administration. At the university level there are more Rotenese, both male and female, who have gained higher degrees compared to other parts of NTT (e.g. Prof. Adrianus Mooy, Prof. Yohannes, Prof.



Ana Pello de Haan, Dr Lien Therik, Dr Max Muskananfolla, Dr Ari Mbuik, Dr Pellokila). Many of the leaders of the political parties in NTT have also been Rotenese. Many Rotenese women had the chance to get as good an education as the men, though the first opportunities were restricted to the aristocratic families. The role of FoE Mbura and the other leaders of Rote who brought education and Christianity to Rote is honoured and respected by the people of Rote.

A second advantage was that the Dutch recognized the traditional *nusak* and their leaders, and strengthened them, ensuring continuity and stability. These institutions combined with the introduction of Malay, the language of education and the maintenance of traditional crafts such as weaving strengthened the Rotenese sense of identity. Many Indonesians also ascribe the strong sense of individuality among the Rotenese to Dutch influence. On the other hand it was also a disadvantage. First, the Rotenese were always used by the Dutch to fight for them with the other islands, such as Timor. Some Rotenese also fought for the Dutch in the Aceh war of 1894-1904, which modern Indonesian nationalists see as an early independence struggle. This is the reason why people of the other islands of NTT often feel some kinds of distrust of Rotenese, and sometimes will not cooperate with them. Sometimes these feelings are expressed in a radical manner, especially in politics. The highest position in NTT always becomes the big issue of conflict between the islands. Sometimes religion becomes the core of this conflict, so that Catholics and Protestants are blamed. The problem appears to have less to do with religion and culture than with the colonial experience. Another consequence is the scarcity of population in eastern Rote, mostly caused by punishment inflicted by the Dutch, especially in the *nusak* Landu in 1856 (Fox 1979:25). Since then eastern Rote has become backward. In 1991 this subdistrict was classified as the poorest subdistrict compared to other subdistricts in central and western Rote.

The second disadvantage was that the Rotenese became strongly oriented towards their *nusaks*. Some of the *nusaks* were already part of Rote, but the borders of all *nusak* were not clarified until 1877. The quarrels among the *nusak* gave the Dutch

the chance to establish *nusak* for the whole of Rote by creating new *nusaks*. The Dutch divided the big *nusak*, and defined the borders of all *nusaks* in the resolution called 'Extract uit Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indie, at Buitenzorg 13 April 1877' (Buitenzorg now is Bogor in Western Java. (See Appendix 1). The 18 *nusak* established have made the Rotenese familiar with their own *nusak*, while the other *nusak* became stranger or less familiar to them. The Rotenese, therefore, tend to see dissimilarities, rather than underlying common features:

A subject which Rotenese never seem to tire of discussing is domain (*nusak*) and dialect differences.....Domains are so self-centered that persons with thorough knowledge of another dialect are relatively few. Except for the high nobility, marriage occurs within the domain. One effect of Dutch rule was to impede the former migration of persons among states. Contact with other dialect speakers is frequent but usually temporary. And thus the curious situation exists that a large number of Rotenese have visited Kupang on Timor while a far smaller number have spent a single night in a domain one removed from their own (Fox 1986:179).

Rotenese *nusaks* form a complex structure by which each is distinguished by its political divisions, local aristocracies, local classes, unique clan privileges, dialects<sup>7</sup>, its dress styles, the pattern of weaving designs and colours, its variation in performance and rituals and differences in customary law. The unification of Rote as a community is yet to be achieved.

The Dutch impact on Rotenese women was also important because men were given more educational opportunities and administrative experience. There was not even one woman who became a head of her *nusak*, as a *manek* or *mane-feto*, even though the idea of *manek* and *manek-feto* in the way they ran the *nusak*, was analogous to a man and a woman running a household. The Dutch based their understanding of Rotenese politics on their notion of gender, and only identified men as the head of the *nusak*, although traditionally women also held important leadership roles. For example, in oral history we hear of a female leader from Ringgou called Abe Sain, who was said to be very famous since she was a good leader. The only indication of her existence in Ringgou today is a place known as her bathing place called *Batu Bela do Londa Lusi*. Further research must be done on this female leader of Rote.

Women also had educational opportunities, but they were not trained to be



members of the traditional elite. Some women also occupied high positions in the Dutch administration or qualified as teachers. Women who were obtained important posts as administrators or teachers are: Mrs. Dien Merukh-Syioen, Ms. Naomi Ngefak, Mrs. Marie Suprpto-Giri, Mrs. Door Doko-Toepoe, Mrs. Ngefak-Adoe, Mrs. Adel Pella-Yacob, Mrs. Rien Soejono-Pellokila, Mrs. Tiluata-Adoe and Mrs. Betje Adeleida Nisnoni-Amalo Djawa.<sup>8</sup>

Even though the number of women who voted in the last general election was high, the number of women in the legislature is only around 13% at the provincial level, and between 7%-10% at the district level. This situation occurs partly as a result of cultural factors. Politics is seen in Rotenese culture as belonging to the *uma deak* or 'outer house', a male preserve.

The process of incorporation has either eliminated or greatly modified Rotenese political organization. Certain Rotenese cultural elements that have been absorbed may also be described as traditional since they retain pre-republican features. The *dae langgak*, for example, in subdistrict Rote Tengah, still holds an important role in the management of the rice fields. Rotenese leaders were closely associated with the traditional economic system and retained their function when Indonesia became a republic. Some of their traditional roles were replaced by new developments, though certain traditional features were retained, an example being the *palani* of *nusak* (later changed to *manek* of *nusak*). The post of *manek* was created and then changed to that of *camat* (head of subdistrict). The first *camat* appointed was one of the traditional leaders, but slowly recruitment changed to be other than from traditional leaders. Later the *camat* was appointed from non-Rotenese with national qualifications, and the *camat* became a leader in the national system. That marked the end of the formal traditional leadership in Rote.

Rotenese traditional leaders have existed for more than three hundred years, and the people of Rote still respect them, although they have no longer have any legal power. However tradition is a heritage from the past. As Edward Shils has stated, tradition means anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the

present that is not rejected by the people (Shils 1981:12). Therefore traditional leaders, such as *manek* and *manek feto's* or *feto's* families are still recognized by their own people who treat them as their informal leaders even when they are outside Rote.

The period of *palani* ended when the Portuguese were replaced by the Dutch. They introduced the system of *manek*, which was not entirely based on the people's traditional ways, mostly for the benefit of the Dutch. The leader became a leader by birth and so the stratification of the society came into being. The Rotenese became divided into two strata: the first was the nobility, comprising the *manek's* and *fetto's* *leo*, and the second was the commoners, which included the *leo* of the *dae langgak*, the man with spiritual authority who could counter the *manek's* judgement (Fox 1986:7). The office of *manek* was not an absolute monarchy, since the *manek* ruled with a people's assembly which consisted of *manek anak*, *feto anak* and the *lasin* of the *nusak*. Nor were the powers of the *manek* uniform throughout Rote. For example, compared to *nusak* Termanu, Thie was more egalitarian: 'Since the early nineteenth century Thie has developed as an egalitarian and Termanu as a hierarchical version of the same structure system' (Fox 1980:115). All the contacts between the Dutch and the *manek* offered benefits to both sides. The *manek* could consolidate their position by cooperating in the exclusion of their dissidents, opponents and rivals and could educate their people, while the Dutch could gain support from the *manek* in order to get armed men to protect them from the hostile Timorese (Fox 1977:136-142). That is one of the reasons why the Rotenese comprise one third of the population in Kupang regency in Timor.

The Rotenese intelligentsia sometimes contrast their system with that of neighbouring Sumba, and draw attention to Rote's relative simplicity. On Sumba, social stratification is divided into three principal divisions. First: *Maramba*, the nobility, the class of the lord and his family; second, *Tau Kabihu*, the middle class, the class of the religious leader called *Rato*, or *Ratu*, and the third, the lower class called *Ata* (slave), the group of slaves, or the servants of the first two classes. Each class can be divided into two stratum, the *maramba mbokul* (big maramba), and *maramba kudu*



(little *maramba*), *tau kabihu mbokul* and *kabihu kudu*, and the *ata mbokul* and *ata kudu*. The term slave is still in existence. A high form of marriage in Sumba in the past was called *apa mamoka* which means a young woman of slave status who acted as a bride's substitute (Forth 1981:214-215; 376). The Sumbanese nobles treated their slaves as part of their family. After independence most of the *ata* preferred to stay with their lords to be fed and protected by them rather than venturing out on their own.

Indonesia did not experience prolonged problems with the abolition of slavery and it faded away in the post-independence era. The only reminder is the name of one harbour in the east coast of Timor called *Atapupu* (slave market). Historically, there was an active slave trade in the islands of NTT during the early colonial period. The slaves were mainly people captured in war among the traditional domains or in fighting against the Dutch. In Rote this was especially the case in the *nusak Landu* where 300 slaves and 1,145 men, women and children were taken away from Landu in 1856, causing serious depopulation (Chijs 1872:222; Fox 1979:25).

The Rotenese experience contrasts markedly with that of the Sumbanese. The Sumbanese have their own history of their traditional leaders, who were called *Maramba*. They were invaders who gained authority after fighting the indigenous inhabitants of Sumba. They made an agreement to allow the former inhabitants to be the middle class and have the right to be the religious leaders as *Rato* or *Ratu*. They had a *Mango Tana* who was in charge of the land on behalf of the middle class. Some of the newcomers reached the north coast of Sumba, and some the south. The envoys of Majapahit from Jawa reached the south coast, and the lord of Sumba recognized the authority of Majapahit, though they never paid tribute to Majapahit. On the coast of Tidas, there is a place called *Parai Jawa* which means the country of Java; it might be the first place where the envoys of Majapahit landed. According to legend a noble woman of Majapahit married the lord of Tabundung of east Sumba, creating a Java-Sumba dynasty (Sularto 1978:25-43). Beckering van Erde also recorded the legend that the people of Sumba and Savu had an ancestor who was a prince of Java (Beckering 1919:132-133). Some Indonesians liken the man's *ikat kepala* (man's headcloth) of

Savu and Sumba to the headcloth of Java. Rote, however, lay beyond the sphere of influence of Majapahit.

The Negara Kertagama mentions the tributaries of Majapahit, though the list in many cases refers to places the kingdom knew about or traded with in the 14th century such as Sumba, Timor, Solor, Ambwan, Maluku, Seran. It is possible that the inter-marriage between the people of these islands occurred (Pigeaud 1960:17).

According to Sularto the indigenous inhabitants of the island of Sumba treated the people who came after them very well though they were pushed into second place. It would appear from these oral histories that the second inhabitants were more powerful than the first and probably possessed a more developed form of agricultural technology than the first. Alternatively, the indigenous people were too accommodating and were taken advantage of by the newcomers. It appears to be like Rote when the people call their earliest inhabitants *Nggoa Laha* (foolish *Laha*), because they were duped. *Laha* was the first inhabitant of Rote. In Termanu and Bilba there remain sacred places of the *Laha* such as a *Laha's* stone and *Laha's* ladder.

The traditional administration and the traditional leaders were in theory democratic, and the system survived for more than 300 years. The *manek* had the capability and the knowledge to achieve much for his people. In order to appreciate the range of responsibilities of the traditional leaders of Rote, it is helpful to divide them into two sections: political, and social including prosperity, health, and spiritual welfare. The political and social leaders are part of a traditional system that is today regarded as part of the island's cultural heritage that has to be observed and saved for future generations.

The political leaders were those who administered the political administration before and after the Dutch arrived. This system was gradually changed. Each *nusak* had its own political leaders, and its own aristocracy comprising : *Manek, Fettor, Mane Sio, Mane Leo, Dae Langgak* and *Mane Dombe (Dope)*. These political leaders can be found during the Dutch period, even though some of them disappeared. The social leaders, including those who were responsible for the prosperity, health and the



spiritual life of the people still exist informally.

#### 4. The Political Leaders

##### 4.1 *Manek* (Lord of *Nusak*)

The word *manek* means 'man', and it would appear that only males could be appointed as leaders of the domains (*nusak*). In the Dutch period the *manek* was described as *raja* (regent) or *koning* (king). Each *nusak* had its own *manek*, who presided over his own court and was the lord of his *nusak*. (Fox 1986:4). Usually, a *manek* needed a *nabuak nusak* or people's assembly (*nusak* meeting) attended by traditional functionaries such as the *lasin nusak*<sup>9</sup> (the elders of *nusak*), *mane-anak* and *fetto-nak* (close kin of *manek* and *feto*) to secure agreements (Van der Kam 1934:596-597). Even though the *manek* could act entirely on his own, he was constrained by a *Dae Langgak* (*dae*, earth; *langgak*, head) a member of a commoner clan who could through his spiritual powers strongly influence the judgement of the *manek*. The *Dae Langgak* was the spiritual authority over the domain and according to Fox: 'He had the right to contravene the judgements of the *manek*, if he violated customary usage, for he held the ultimate ritual power over the fertility of the earth which, if withdrawn, would destroy the state' (1986:7).

In Thie the *Mboru anan* (from the *feto*'s *leo*, Tarutu) also had the right to control the *manek*. The *Mboru anan* consisted of four subclans of *leo inak* of Tarutu, and the *Dae Langgak* came from subclan Kanaketu, one of the *Leo anak* of the Sabarai (*manek*'s *leo*). While the *Manasonggo* came from subclans Su'a and Le'e of Sabarai (see Figure 3).

##### 4.2. *Mane-Feto* or *Feto* (The Female Lord)

The word *manek-feto* or *feto* is derived from the word *feto*, which means woman or sister. In Portuguese *feto* means assistant, and thus *feto* is the assistant of the *manek*. In the *manek-feto* or *feto* administration system the indigenous designations are *manek* (masculine) and *feto* (feminine, sister). It may be described as a

complementary male-female administration, which is analogous with the household management of a Rotenese house, between wife and husband (van Wouden 1968:62). This relationship of *manek* and *manek-fetor* or *fetor* was of interest to van Wouden, who explained the nature of the relationship by citing from a letter written by Convreur:

(They are like) two sides of the same authority, one aspect of which is the *radja*, the source of authority and the mystically-conceived but also decision-making power, while the other is the *fetor*, the part concerned with the administration of worldly affairs. Again Van der Kam, a local informant says that the man is the head, the woman is the hand that works (van Wouden 1968:63).

Since the head would be nothing without the hand, and the hand would be nothing without the head, logically both the head and the hand, or *manek* and *fetor*, serve their office like a man and a woman in a household. Both were chosen from the noble clan of the *nusak* and controlled by the *dae langgak* the lord of the earth of commoner *leo* origin. Historically, the *mane-feto* (*fetor*) as the second lord was supposed to act in certain matters on behalf of the *manek*. In most of the *nusak*, the *mane-feto* or *fetor* had jurisdiction over a set number of clans in the *nusak*. In times of interregnum, the second lord ruled the *nusak* as in the *Nusak Delha*, where the former *manek-feto* or *fetor* of *nusak* OEnale became the *manek* of Delha, and Delha was part of OEnale before. The title was vested in a clan that derived from the clan of *manek*. The members of *manek*'s clan were generally expected to marry members of the *feto's* clan. The clan of *manek* and *manek-feto* constituted the nobility of the *nusak* of Rote (Fox 1980:112-113). But there was no restriction on marriage with the commoner *leo* since they also were from the same ancestor (see Figure 3, Lineage Groups of *nusak* Thie).

Because the *mane-feto* (*fetor*) in Rote is the assistant of the *manek* or the second lord of the *nusak*, he could act on behalf of the *manek* and had no special area. This is in contrast to Timor, where the *fetor* had his own land and people, and could not act on behalf of the *raja* (*Usif*, king) of Timor in the *raja's* total domain. In Savu, according to Donselaar, 'the *fetor* exercises unlimited authority in his own territory' (van Wouden 1968: 62; Donselaar 1872:301). There are three *nusaks* of Rote which have no *man-feto* (*fetor*): Lelenuk, the *nusak* that was founded by people from Bokai, Delha, and Oenale. The *fetor* of Oenale later became the *manek* of Delha, after which both Oenale and Delha



never chose another *fetor* again (Van Wouden 1968:63-64; Jongker 1905:453-590).

#### 4.3 *Mane Dae Langgak* (Lord of the Earth)

The *mane dae langgak* or *dae langgak*, the lord of earth (*dae*, earth; *langgak*, head) came from a commoner clan of the *nusak*. Van der Kam, van de Wetering, Kruijt, and Jackstein have left their observations on these traditional leaders. According to van der Kam the *dae langgak's* function closely links with the *manasonggo nusak*, (he who performs the rites or he who sacrifices). Each *nusak* and each clan has its own *manasonggo*, who only makes an appearance in important matters such as war, epidemics, and harvesting (Van Wouden 1968:64; Van der Kam 1934:586-590). The *dae langgak* of the *nusak* has the right to contravene the judgement of the *manek*, since he was the traditional preserver of ritual and of custom (Fox 1986:7). His main role lay in his relation to the land, and traditionally the position of *dae langgak* was passed down from father to son along with the knowledge of the *nusak's* land. In *nusak* Termanu *dae langgak* can be translated as the 'possessor or manager of the land' but van der Kam rejects this idea, and states that *mane dae langgak* should be translated as 'owner of the land' (Van der Kam 1934:590). The *mane dae lanngak* actually was only the 'spiritual owner of the land', for the people of the *nusak*. He knew all the *nusak* land and who were the secular owners of the land, so that when there was a quarrel about the land he was the one who could give information about land and help to solve the problem. He also would be punished if he did not do his jobs properly. In the 1990s in Termanu, one may still encounter some *dae langgak*, who are involved in the management of water for irrigation and who are owners of the rice fields. Thus, the name of *dae langgak* still exists but the function has changed since Indonesian land law was implemented in Rote. The division of the realm between the nobility and the lords of the earth is a recurring theme in the anthropological literature on East Indonesia.

#### 4.4. *Mane Dombe* or *Mane Dope* (The Lord of Knife)

*Dombe* or *dope* means knife and he who holds the knife has the power to cut

everything. The *manek Dombe* was a judge and this title was held by one or two lords at court. The title was bestowed on the ancestor of the lineage or clan in recognition of some special service and carried with it certain privileges expressive of this personal relation: the privilege to carry the *manek's* knife or his betel, areca-nut container (called *tonda*)<sup>10</sup> and the right to deputize for the *manek* and even announce the *manek's* decision at the court .

A common strategy seems to have been the appointment of a lineage head within the royal clan to the post of *manek dombe* in order to gain his support at court. He acted as the head of the Rotenese traditional court, and was responsible for announcing the *manek's* decisions after long sessions in court. After a decision was announced, it could not be argued against by anyone because the knife was already out, symbolizing the completion of the task. His function was to give a verdict in every quarrel, from the household quarrel and divorce, to the quarrels of the community. This position as *manek dome* was passed down from father to son, and usually they were from the ruling families (Hanning 1985).

#### 4.5 *Mane Sio* or *Sio Ai* (Nine Lords or Nine Trees)

Number nine represented totality, although the actual number of lords of trees was not exactly nine. Generally, however *mane sio* with its connotation of membership in an inclusive totality denoted high status in the *manek's* hierarchy. The *mane sio* surrounded the *manek*. Their function was as the clan representative at the court and to assist the *manek* in rendering judgment (Fox 1980:110). *Mane sio* was the head of the territorial village, which later in the colonial times become known as the *temukung*. In Timor, for example, there were two *temukungs* in nearby villages, one of which was called *temukung Manulai Timor* (Manulai is the name of a village special for the Timorese) and the other *temukung Manulai Rote*. The *temukung* was a head of territorial area, and in the national administration system the *temukung* is more like the head of village (*kepala desa* or *lurah*). This administration of *mane sio* and *mane leo* was complicated for van Wouden, who noted that when members of different clans lived among one another, there was no exclusive relation between the villages and



genealogical groups: 'In former times genealogical and territorial groupings are said to be overlapped' (Kruyt 1921a:269). Actually, there was no overlap between these two groupings, since the *mane leo* could control all his members who stayed in the village of a *mane sio*. The *mane leo* was more like a father to the members of a *leo* who were living in another village, but who still took advice from him on matters, such as marriage and death. The *mane leo* and *mane sio* knew the precise limits of their responsibilities. The *temukung* was introduced by the Dutch to Timor, and the term was taken from the Malay title *temenggong* (or *tumenggung* in Java), and these offices had the same function as *temukung*.

#### 4.6 *Mane Leo* (Lord of a Leo or Clan) and *Lasin* (Elders)

The *mane leo* was the head of a clan, specific to Rote, and he represented the genealogical *leo* (clan). He was responsible for the executive and judicative functions of his clan. *Mane leo* had to be elected from the members of the *leo*. The *mane leo* had a messenger, a man called the *mafadak*, whose role was to pass on information to the members of the clan. One other important group in the *nusak* consisted of older people called *lasin*. As mentioned above *lasin* were the elders of the *nusak* whose functions were to pass on information to the people of the community and who were involved in choosing the new ruler.

### 5. Social Leaders

These leaders were concerned with the prosperity of the people. The *langgak mok*, which means the head of the fields. He was responsible for the crops, especially if they were destroyed by animals such as pigs, goats or cows. He assessed how much was destroyed, and how much the owner of the animals that came into the garden could be charged for the damage.

The *mana lala* (*lala* is a field shelter) was the head of the rice fields, whose job was to manage all the agricultural land. The *mana kila oe* means 'head of water distribution' (*oe* is Water) and he was responsible for irrigation. The *langgak namo*, means the head of the port or harbour master (*namo* is port) and he supervised the

coming and going of shipping. The *mana horo lasi* means the head of the forest and he was in charge of settling quarrels about the forest. The word *horo* means to cut with a saw. The function of *mana horo* was similar to the function of the *mane dombe*, the difference being that *dombe* was in charge of general problems and *mana horo* of special ones. The *mana horo tasik*, was concerned with the sea (*tasik*, sea). He settled quarrels about the sea around the island of Rote. The law of the sea was called *hohorok* or *papadak*. The *mana horo nggorok* was in charge of all the plants inside the hamlet (*nggorok/ngolok*, hamlet).

The *mana horo mamak*, was in charge of the *mamak* (multi-crop garden), a special garden near a spring with many kinds of plants such as coconuts, areca, betel bananas, mangoes and breadfruit. The *manasonggo* was a mediator between humans and the creator. This man was responsible for the performance of the rituals that were held before going to war, at the start of harvesting and when there was an epidemic in the *nusak*. Every *nusak* had its own *manasonggo*. The *mana losi* was a fortune teller, whereas the *mana nggai uak*, was a palmist who was said to be able to make some one's future look bright, even when he knew that it was not so.

The *Manahelo* was a traditional chanter, who would relate everybody's life story by singing on special occasions especially during weddings, or at the time of mourning before the funeral. He was the custodian of oral tradition, that is of history before it was written down.

The health section or health task group comprised three traditional doctors; *mana poli do* or *mana rae*, who knew the medicinal value of plants; *mana mafa rae*, responsible for examining and diagnosing public health; and the *mana tusi*, who carried out massage and fixed bones. All these Rotenese traditional offices and professions operated during the Dutch period. Some of their functions slowly disappeared because of education and conversion to Christianity.

The Japanese occupation started on 8 March 1942 when the first Japanese battle ship dropped anchor in the harbour of Ba'a. A Japanese spy had arrived one month earlier in Thie. During the Japanese period many Rotenese men were sent to Kupang to



do volunteer work (*rodi*) for the Japanese. The Rotenese popular song *Ofalangga* which was composed in this period, describes the suffering of the Rotenese men who left Rote for *rodi*. The Japanese however, did not change the political system significantly. The *manek* was called *Gunco*, and the Japanese administration in Rote was called *Bunken*. One important change they made in education in Rote was the upgrade of the three years of primary schooling to six years. Since then there have been no three year primary schools in Rote.

## 6. Rote in the Period of the Republic of Indonesia

News of the Indonesian Proclamation of Independence on 17 August, 1945 arrived in Rote one year later. The Allied forces held Rote after the surrender of the Japanese on the 25 August 1945. The Dutch returned in 1946 but the restoration of colonial rule was shortlived, and by 27 December 1949 full Indonesian independence was achieved.

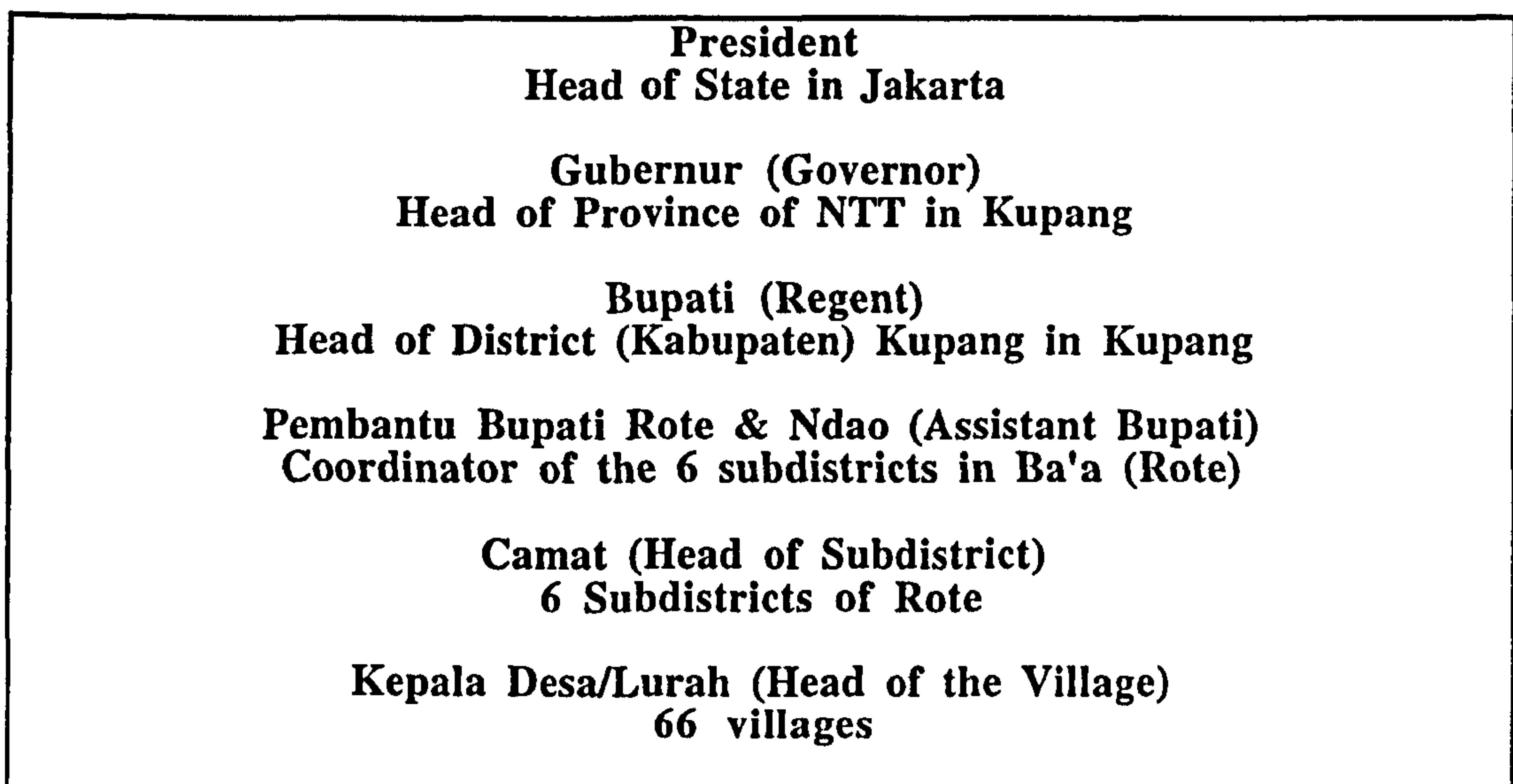
In 1962 after a decade of Indonesian independence, the traditional administrative system of Rote also ended. The 19 *Nusak* were regrouped into three subdistricts (*kecamatan*) (Appendix II). At first some of the traditional *manek* became *camat* (subdistrict head, a government administrator) such as Amalo, Mooy and Messakh, but slowly all the traditional responsibilities were removed. This was particularly the case in 1964, when all the villages were forbidden by the Indonesian authorities from having their own *mane leo* and *mane sio*.

On 11 April, 1968, on the instructions of the Governor of NTT (62/2/4), all *nusak* of Rote and Ndao were regrouped into six subdistricts (*kecamatan*).<sup>11</sup> (*kecamatan* I-VI in Map 3) (Appendix III). This was supposed to be a preparation for Rote and Lembata (see Map 2) to be a *kabupaten* (district). But Rote and Lembata still had the same status as in 1968. All *manek* and *manek fetu* of *nusak* still held their titles privately, and most social conflicts continued to be resolved by them especially when they were in the *nusak*. They became informal leaders and were ready to help the formal leaders when they needed. They were the key people of every *nusak* in Rote, or

every *swapraja* in NTT. The *Swapraja* was the traditional domain known as the kingdom of Timor or Sumba which had its own King or *Raja*. All the *swaprajas* were integrated into 12 districts of NTT<sup>12</sup> (Map .2) (Appendix II). Since 1968, each subdistrict has been headed by a *camat* (head of a subdistrict) following the Indonesian pattern. The six *camat* of Rote were coordinated by a *Pembantu Bupati* Rote Ndao (assistant Bupati of the District of Kupang) and his office in Ba'a.

Figure 1 shows the island of Rote as comprising 6 subdistricts coordinated by a *Pembantu Bupati* since 1968. The people of Rote then wanted a higher status than as a subdistrict. Most of the Rotenese politician who argued for the *Status Kabupaten* for Rote have now passed away. The new generation are uninterested, and do not want to waste their time fighting for the status of the island. In the second stage of the National Development Plan (Repelita II) more stress was placed on decentralization: the people are still waiting for the changes.

**Figure 1. The National Administration Hierarchy in Indonesia <sup>13</sup>**



The 1979 law employs the model of the Javanese territorial-type village with a few modifications. The adoption of this model allowed the villages of Java to continue functioning as they did in the past. But the great majority, if not all of the villages in all other islands had to be reorganized and restructured. Rotenese villages were



genealogical organizations in the past so it was very hard for them to transfer to the modern territorial type of village. Selosumardjan an Indonesian sociologist observed this and said:

This law clearly stipulates that it deals strictly with administrative structure and duties and that it is in no way concerned with *adat*. By stressing this policy explicitly, the law draws a distinct line between administration and *adat*, with the objective of creating a stronger link between the village administration and the supra-village agencies of the republic, while at the same time leaving *adat* to the care of the village community (Selo Sumardjan 1993:12).

The change from the traditional system to the national system without taking into account the *adat* brought about conflict between the national agencies and the local informal leaders and the community. Many development programmes cannot be implemented as they should be, but since there is no research about this failure in many parts of Indonesia, the problem is still unsolved.

National policies have emphasised the national credo *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). But most of the policy makers are more attracted to 'unity' rather than 'diversity' since some national leaders do not yet appreciate the value of the diversity of more than 400 ethnic groups and their traditions (*adat*). The sad thing is that most leaders translate 'unity' as 'uniformity', because it is easy to enforce a uniformity than a unity, since unity requires not only an appearance of uniformity but also the mentality of unity (Selo Sumardjan 1993:11).

The Rotenese have many problems. Job opportunities outside the agricultural sector are still limited and more than 82 per cent of the population is engaged in traditional agriculture including *lontar* tapping. The higher formal education in Rote is SMA or Senior High School in Ba'a. Apart from the high status enjoyed by members of the civil service generally, the greater part of population believe that civil servants also have a comparatively high standard of living. There are, however, only a small number of government posts available. The island has the status of a subdistrict, and thus there is only one *Pembantu Bupati* and his staff in Ba'a, and one *Camat* in each subdistrict. Other government employees include clerks in the administration and teachers. The only people who have a car are the *Pembantu Bupati* and some of the

*Camat*. All other cars in the island belong to the Chinese traders. That is also the reason the young educated people both men and women always migrate to Kupang or to other *kabupaten* in order to get jobs, even though the number of migrants is not as high as the migration in 1930.

Rote's status within the national administration is a critical issue, not least because any increase would generate more jobs. More autonomy would also give the island an opportunity to develop itself.

## 7. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has presented a socio-historical discussion of the political dimensions of Rotenese society. It has shown how notions of political leadership, political divisions and social stratification have developed through time in relation to local ideas, political events and external forces. Despite the incorporation of Rote into the Republic of Indonesia, and consequent changes in political organisation, the traditional political leaders who ruled Rote for hundreds of years have left their imprint on modern society. Social stratification is still traditional, with noble and commoner clans, and the role of traditional leaders is still important in development. Most of the traditional leaders' descendants still hold important formal positions, and the traditional leaders have respect in the minds of the Rotenese. People seek their advice on a wide range of issues and thus the government officers in Rote such as the *Pembantu Bupati* and *camat* must take into account the elders and the nobility in each *nusak* to help them encourage the people. The nobility are a contemporary reality; they are part of Rote's history and its culture and it is not easy to ignore them. They still exist, and continue to play an important role in the minds of their people. Drs. Benny Izaac, the assistant of the Regent of Kupang, had success in Rote during his period there, since he knew how to persuade the nobility and the elders to support him in his programmes (Izaac 1990). The status of the island of Rote and Ndao as a Coordinatorship of Kupang has been operation for 27 years. Compared with the other districts, Rote has the potential to be a district (*kabupaten*) in the future. Much will depend on the unity of the educated people of the island to achieve this upgrading to district status and so allow the island more



autonomy to develop.

Gender complementary or gender dualism categories can be found in traditional politics in the function of *manek* and *fetor*, the female lord, of Rote during colonial times. Lakamola, a female figure in Rotenese culture, also has had a symbolic impact in politics by the creation of unity in the thanksgiving ritual of *hus* in each *nusak*. But in practice while there are some hints in the historical evidence that a few women were once political leaders, traditional political power formally rested in the hands of men, while women exercised power informally through men in their roles as mothers, wives, daughters and probably lovers. Eventually Rotenese women also gained access to education and this was allowed by their own culture, and was later supported by the Indonesian constitution. Since then women have had the opportunity to participate in development and enter the political arena alongside men. A few already play important roles in politics at the district, provincial and national levels.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>foa means wake up, rise; buik means behind. A way used by the leaders to discipline their people to work together to support each other especially in mutual help.

<sup>2</sup>At the end of the 17th century there were no Portuguese to be found in Rote.

<sup>3</sup>Palani is more like a war hero, who was the leader of the *nusak* before the *manek*. *Manek* were established by Portuguese and the Dutch by offering them the staff of office.

<sup>4</sup>Coolsma records said that the Rotenese came under formal Dutch authority in 1662.

<sup>5</sup>The Bimanese have long been engaged in trade in the eastern islands and many foreign skills have been incorporated into the technology (Hitchcock 1991:197).

<sup>6</sup>Eko Dengga means to hem in *nusak* Dengka. All Rotenese adult men were forced by the Dutch to hem in *nusak* Dengka to make Mone Eli surrender. He is a famous hero of Rote. He must be remembered and honoured by the Indonesian Government as a National hero as well as Diponegoro from Java and Patimura from Ambon.

<sup>7</sup>This led the Rotenese to use Malay as a lingua franca rather than their native language since there are differences among the *nusak*. But when a chanter speaks everybody can understand.

<sup>8</sup>Mrs. Bertje Adeleida Nisnoni-Amalo-Djawa shows the pattern of inter-marriage and inter-relations among the noble families of the islands of NTT. She was a daughter of *manek* Termanu (Amalo). She was adopted by the *raja* Savu (king of Savu) who married one of *manek* Termanu's sisters. She married a young prince from Timor, who was later known as *raja* Kupang (king of Kupang). Mrs. Nisnoni graduated from Malang (east Java), and became a very important women in the history of NTT.

<sup>9</sup>There were two groups of *lasin*: *lasin nggorok* and *lasin nusak*. The forum in which the *lasin* and the *manek* or the formal administrative leaders of the *nusak* met was called *nabuak* (people's assembly). There was a *nabuak* at the village level and a *nabuak* at the *nusak* level. At the *nabuak*, *lasin* could make proposals, give advice and help the leaders to make good decisions for their people. Usually, they

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met on a Monday (*hari mandak*). That is the reason why many other activities such as marriage feasts were not allowed to happen on Mondays.

<sup>10</sup> A *tonda* is betel bag carry by an adult man, as a symbol that he is mature enough to marry. While a woman had her teeth filed as a symbol of maturity.

<sup>11</sup>First, *Kecamatan* Rote Barat Daya (*nusak* Thie and Dela ), second, *Kecamatan* Rote Barat Laut *nusak* Dengka and OEnale and Ndao ), third, *Kecamatan* Lobalain (*nusak* Loleh, Ba'aand Lelain), fourth, *Kecamatan* Rote Tengah (*nusak* Termanu, Keka , TalaE), fifth, *Kecamatan* Pantai Baru (*nusak* Korbafo, Diu, Bokai, Lelenuk), sixth, *Kecamatan* Rote Timur (*nusak* Oepao, Ringgou, Bilba and Landu) (see Map 3).

<sup>12</sup>4 Districts (*Kabupaten*) in Timor are: Kupang (including Rote and Savu), Timor Tengah Selatan, Timor Tengah Utara, and Belu; 5 Districts in Flores: Flores Timur, Sikka, Manggarai, Ngada, and Ende 2 Districts in Sumba: Sumba Barat and Sumba Timur: and 1 District in Alor (see Map 2).

<sup>13</sup>President: elected for a five-year term by the Supreme People's Legislative Assembly. Governor (Gubernur): elected for a five-year term by the Provincial Representative Council, confirmed in office by the President. District Head (Bupati): elected for a five-year term by the District Representative Council confirmed by the office of President. Especially for Rote and Lembata in NTT is the office of 'Pembantu Bupati' (assistant of Bupati ) since 1968 as a preparation for becoming a district (*kabupaten*). He coordinates 6 subdistricts of Rote (former 18 *nusak* and the island of Ndao). Subdistrict Head (*camat*) appointed by the Governor. Village head (*kepala desa* or *lurah*) is elected by the people under the provisions of the 1979 local administration law for an eight-year term, confirmed by the district head. The 1979 law subdivides the village into hamlets (*dusun*).



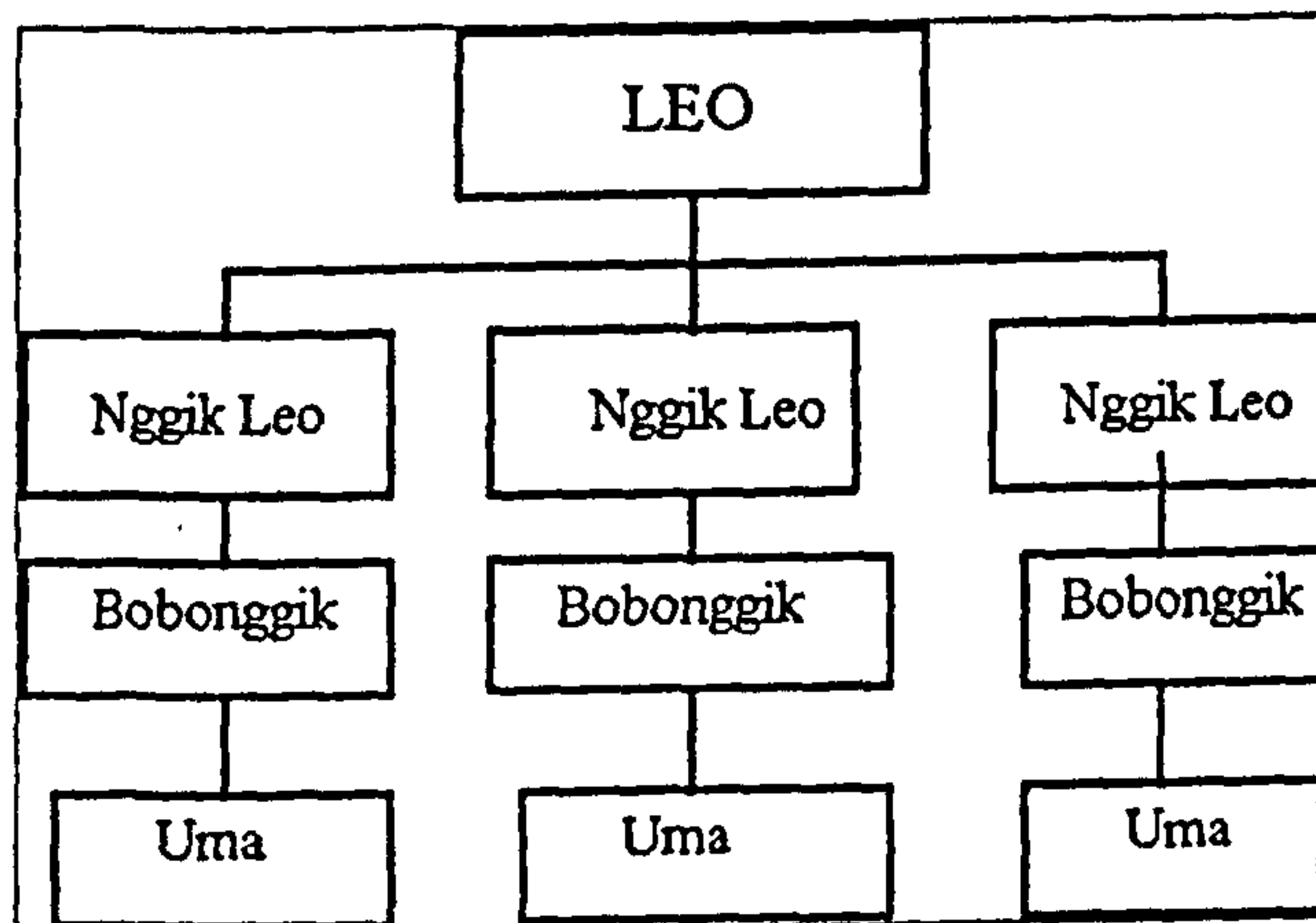
# CHAPTER FOUR

## KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

### 1. Kinship and Gender Relations

The *uma* or house is the territorially localized descent group which forms the basis nucleus of the entire social organization of the Rotenese. In a domain (*nusak*), the *uma* is the basic kinship unit, and several *uma* make up a group, the *bobongik* (birth group). Several birth groups make up a lineage segment (*Nggik-leo*). A group of lineage segments or lineage subgroups make up a lineage (*leo*) or a clan (*leo*). Every *nusak* of Rote consists of several *leo* or clans (see Figure 2). These clans are divided into *manek's* clan, *fetor's* clan and commoner clans. The *dae langgak* (the lord of earth) who controlled the *manek* came from one of the commoner clans. For example in *nusak* Thie the *dae langgak* originated from Kanaketu, one of the *leo-anak* of Sabarai (*manek's* minor clan).

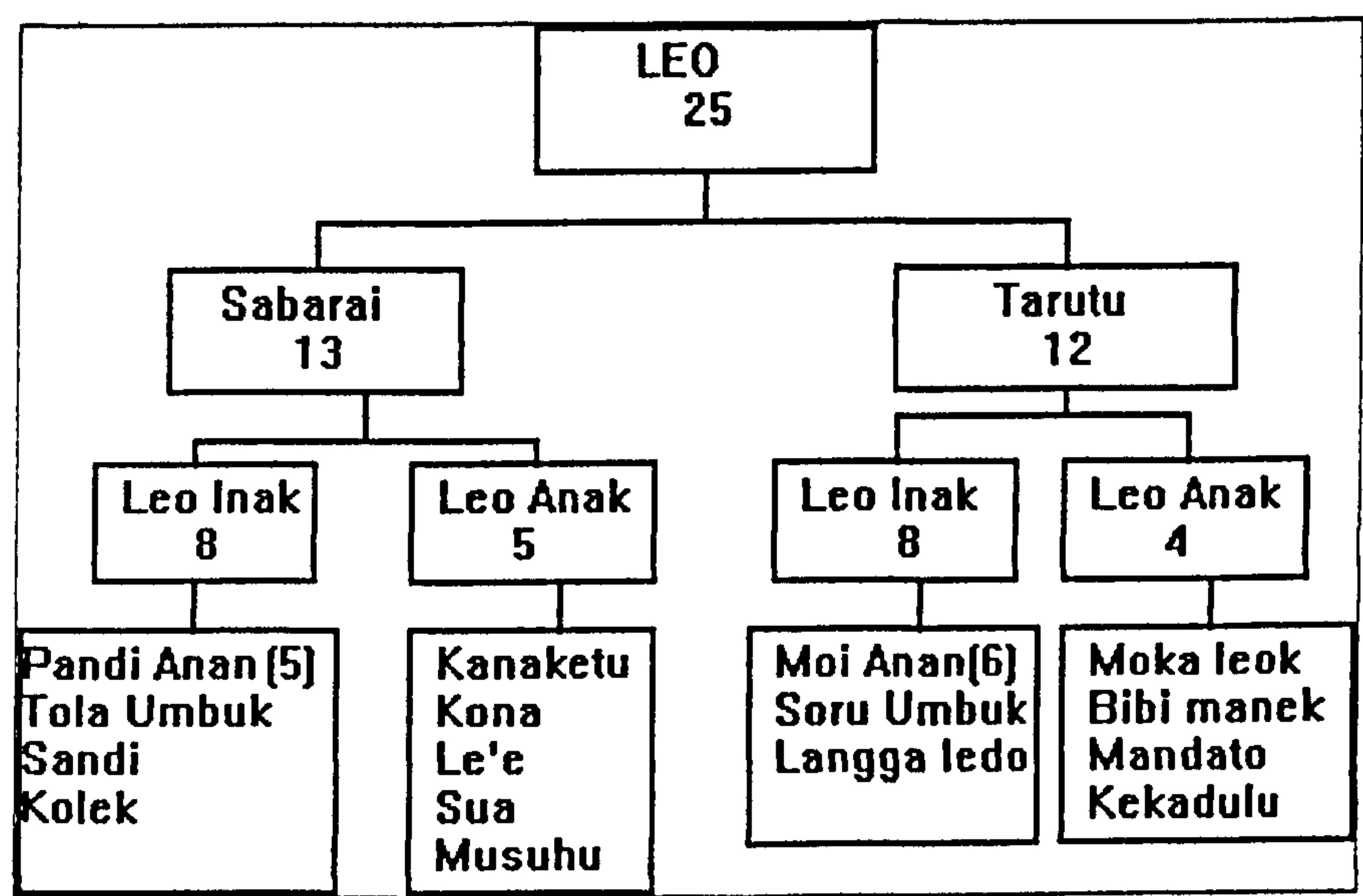
Figure 2. Genealogical Organization



Leo (Lineage); Nggik Leo (Lineage segment) ; Bobonggik (birth group); Uma (house)

In order to get a clear understanding of the kinship of Rote, this chapter focuses on one of the *nusak* of Rote Barat Daya, *nusak* Thie. This *nusak* consists of 25 patrilineal lineages and is divided between the *manek's* clan (Sabarai) and the *fetor's* clan (Tarutu) and another lineage segment Landu, which is not part of the two clans. The Landu occupied the small island on the south coast of *nusak* Thie. Fox classified the Landu as part of the *leo anak* of the Sabarai and makes the Sabarai comprise 14 lineage segments or subclans. Both the Sabarai and the Tarutu divided themselves into *leo inak* (major *leo*) and *leo anak* (minor *leo*) (Fox 1980:123) From *leo inak* Moi Anan of Tarutu there are four lineage segments called Mboru Anan (Nale Feo, Toda Feo, Mesa Feo, and Ndana Feo) who function as a legislative council. They have the right to control and also to elect a new *manek*. They are called *mana holu kadera ein* (those who hold the legs of the *manek's* chair), who always support the *manek*. When a new *manek* was inaugurated one of the *mboru anan* had to send a buffalo for the celebration. They have to control the *manek* as well as the *dae langgak* in other *nusak*. The lineage segments Le'e and Sua (the *leo anak* of Tarutu) play the role of *manasonggo* especially at the ceremony asking for rain (see figure 3).

**Figure 3. Lineage groups of Nusak Thie**



*Leo inak* , major *leo*; *Leo anak* , minor *leo*. Pandi anan consists of 5 *nggik leo* and Moi anan 6 *nggik leo*



Marriage is lineage segment exogamous among the *leo inak* and *leo anak* of Sabarai and Tarutu (figure 3). Figure 3 shows how all the clans of *nusak* Thie related to one another. Since the *nusak* is a genealogical domain all the lineage groups could be related to the other groups, so that marriage among the *leo inak* and *leo anak* of Tarutu and Sabarai could take place. Anyone can marry outside of the *nusak*, but they have to pay a big bridewealth if they do so.

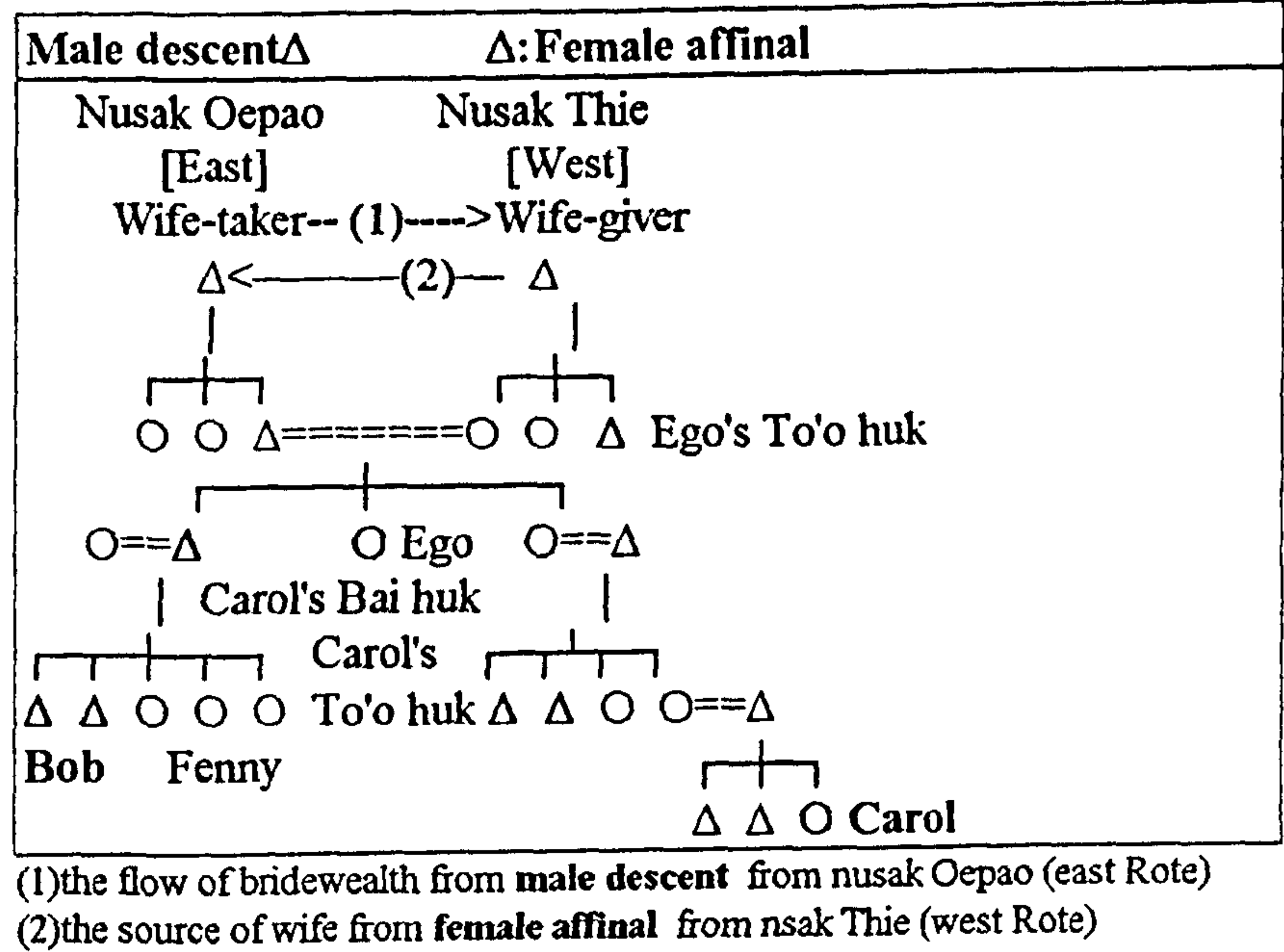
Marriage is strictly lineage segment exogamous in the clans in Oehandi and Meo Ain. Out of 206 marriages recorded by Fox only 5 were incorrect. In these cases the wife-takers had to pay a fine and the wife-givers did not receive bridewealth (Fox 1980:128-131). It seems that people still follow the customary law when they are inside the *nusak*.

### 1.1 Consanguineal relations

Figure 4 shows the wife-taker to wife-giver relationship between two patriarchal *umas*. One *uma* from *nusak* OEpaio was the wife-taker who paid bridewealth to the other *uma* from *nusak* Thie as a wife-giver. The Rotenese have their own terms in blood relationship to address one another. For example, Carol is a grandchild (*upu*, or *umbu*) of the ego patri-line. Carol has two mother's brother's (*to'o huk*) in figure 4, but only the older one has to act as *to'o huk* on behalf of her mother's line. Carol's mother's mother's brother (*ba'i huk*) is the only male in ego's line. If there is no male in the mother's brother's line there must be some other male from the birth group (*bobonggik*) who will act on behalf of the line as Carol's mother's brother. In this case perhaps Bob will act as Carol's mother's brother (see figure 4).

In Figure 4 male descent and female affiliation is shown. The ritual role of mother's brother is performed in ceremonies for his sister's children. The important relationship is the relation between a mother's brother (*to'o huk*) and his sister's child. Every Rotenese child knows who is his/her mother's brother (*to'o huk*) and mother's mother's brother (*ba'i huk*). The Rotenese term for this relationship is *huk* signifying

Figure 4. Kin Relationships of Rote.



their origin. This indicates the importance of the mother's line because the mother's side being the wife-giver, is superior. The wife-givers are the life givers, and therefore vital to the flow of life (Fox 1980:12).

The Rotenese marriage shows dualistic characteristics in the wife-givers and wife-takers relationship. Bridewealth is paid by the wife-taker to the wife-giver (see figure 4). But when the couple go against the marriage rules the process of bridewealth ceases to exist and in some cases the wife-taker might be required to pay a fine. Dualistic categories in kinship can be explained through a human body, in which the blood and flesh is derived from maternal blood and bones from paternal cement (Fox 1971:245).

The complementary relationship between a husband and a wife is likened to that between brother and sister. A husband addresses his wife as *fadik* (younger sister) and a wife addresses her husband as *ka'ak* (older brother). The relationship among the children of one lineage or one *bobongik* is very close, like brother and sister. This is the reason why endogamous unit marriage and parallel cousin marriage among the Rotenese is prohibited.



Figure 4 shows that kin on the female side is also important in Rotenese society as well as other kin members from the father's side. Below is a list of kinship terms used for reference by the Rotenese, partly derived from Fox's studies (cf. Fox 1971: 221):

<i>ba'i</i>	grandfather, mother's mother's brother, ancestors
<i>be'i</i>	grandmother, ancestress
<i>ama</i>	father, father's brothers, father's father's brothers and all male members of the same agnatic lineage who are of the preceding generation
<i>ama ka'ak</i>	father's elder brother
<i>ama fadik</i>	father's younger brother
<i>ali ama</i>	wife's father husband's father (father-in-law)
<i>inak</i>	mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife, and all female members of the same agnatic lineage who are of the preceding generation, including those <i>ana</i> who have been admitted as members of the lineage through marriage
<i>ina ka'ak</i>	mother's elder sister
<i>ina fadik</i>	mother's younger sister
<i>ina to'ok</i>	mother's brother's wife
<i>ali inak</i>	wife's mother, husband's mother (mother-in-law)
<i>to'ok</i>	mother's brother
<i>te'ok</i>	father's sister
<i>ti'ik</i>	mother's sister
<i>ana</i>	child, all members of the <i>uma</i> who belong to the next generation down.
<i>ana manek</i>	son, male child
<i>ana fetok</i>	daughter, female child
<i>ka'ak</i>	older brother/sister
<i>fadik</i>	younger brother /sister
<i>fetok</i>	sister
<i>mone feu</i>	brother-in-law (lit. new man)
<i>feto feu</i>	sister-in-law (lit. new sister)
<i>upu /umbu</i>	grandchild
<i>keraba'i / kelaba'i</i>	in-law (male): (wife's brother, sister's husband can call each other <i>keraba'i</i> or <i>kelaba'i</i> ).
<i>hi'a</i>	in-law (female): (brother's wife, husband's sisters can call each other <i>hia</i> ).

(Fox 1971:221)

The marriage of a brother's and a sister's children (cross-cousin marriage) is likened to the ties of a loin cloth (*tuti talike*). A sister's children belong to the outer house because their mother goes to stay in her husband's house. The brother's children belong to the *uma dalek*, since the children with their mother belong to the inner house of their father. This cross-cousin marriage conserves the wealth and inheritance of the intermarrying families. Siblings of different sexes are thus separated at marriage.

The gender associations between the inner and outer sections of the Rotenese house imply a clear separation between brothers and sisters. Hence, when the children of a brother and sister marry, the marriage is described as a reunion of the two parts of the house. *Uma deak leo uma dalek, uma dalek leo uma deak* : the outer house goes to the inner house, the inner house goes to outer house (Fox 1993:158).

## 1.2. The Rotenese Concept of Gender

The Rotenese concept of gender can be understood through their idea of the inner and outer division of the Rotenese traditional house. A Rotenese traditional house consists of two domains: the *uma dalek* (inner) and the *uma deak* (outer). The *uma dalek*, which is female, is situated to the west and the *uma deak*, which is male, is located in the east. The front door is usually to the south or north. The Rotenese say that the house represents a living creature, the head (*langgak*) being at the east is male and the tail (*iko*) at the west is female. The relationship of a man to a woman is likened to a head and a tail, they complement one another because the head cannot function without the tail. This traditional concept of the house is still implemented in the modern house, for example the female's room is in the west, the store room must be at the west, and the house must face south or north. All the properties in the inner house are controlled by a female, a housewife (*sao inak*).

The women's living space in the west contains the hearth (*ra'o*) and a shrine to the goddess, *Lakamola*. Most of the women's activities take place in the western part of the house. Parallels can be found elsewhere in eastern Indonesia where CMP languages are spoken, such as Bima:

Although the Bimanese houses are owned and inherited by men the interior of the dwelling above the main floor area is known as the *ina uma* (mother's home) and this area is the most extensively used by



females (Hitchcock 1989:57).

In Rote, a man can never serve his guest when his wife is not in because the main activities of the inner house are in the hands of the wife. The man builds the house but when he marries he offers the house to his wife. In the inner house are located the hearth, a water jar, a jar of palm sugar and a big basket (*soko*) of harvested rice representing the nine seeds (*mbule sio*), which were given to the Rotenese by *Lakamola*. All these jars and the basket must not be empty, that is why a woman must manage them. The woman's responsibility is to take care of the offering basket for *Lakamola* hanging in the western half of the home.

The distinction between men and women or male and female can be conceptualized as a set of opposed pairs which correspond with other sets of opposition. Fox's impression of the Rotenese gender pairs can be described as follows:

Male	Female
Sun	Moon
East	West
Head	Tail
Outer (deak)	Inner (dalek)
Sheep and goats	Pigs
Dog	Cat

(see Fox 1993:151)

These opposed pairs above can be seen as having complementary functions, such as the head and a tail. The sun is male and the moon female, and the Rotenese stress their natural complementariness. The sun shines brightly during the day, and after sunset, the beauty of the moon is revealed in the west. The complementary character of natural phenomena are regarded by the Rotenese as analogous to the relationship between men and women, brother and sister and husband and wife.

Rotenese houses are built with spars (*dodo'ik*), ridge-pole (*to'ak*), cross-beams (*papauk*). The positions of the spars, ridge-pole and cross-beams have to be correct, and all have their own names and functions. If one of them is lying incorrectly it will bring misfortune to the household, either to the people or the animals. Among the poles there are two of special importance: a male pole (*di'ik ana manek*) at the eastern end

(*uma duluk* or *uma deak*, outer house), and a female pole (*di'ik ana fetok*) at the western end (*uma mulik*, *uma dalek* is inner house). Besides the male and female poles there are also male spars (*dodo'ik ana manek*) and female spars (*dodo'ik ana fetok*).

A ceremony for the welfare of a male child is held in the *uma duluk* (*deak*, outer house), and for a female child in the *uma dalek* next to the poles related to the gender of the child. The ritual involves making supplications to the ancestral spirits to take care of the children. Whenever the householder contacts the spirits she/he has to scatter rice (*se'u isik*)<sup>1</sup> or betel and areca nut (*beda mbua dae*), or offer cooked rice in a box of plaited lontar leaf (*ketupat*). When a child cries continually, or is sick, the problem is taken to mean that the child is being haunted by the spirit of an ancestor. A ritual is required to neutralise this spirit interference.

The Rotenese also associate animals with human gender. The cat (*meo*) is associated with women, since it remains in the inner house close to women. The dog (*busa*) is associated with men since it lives in the outer house close to men and is not allowed to enter the inner house. Pigs forage close to the home and are thus associated with women. Goats, sheep, horses and buffaloes graze away from the home and are associated with men. Gender identification among the Rotenese is more complementary than hierarchical. Cats are not superior to dogs; pigs are not more beneficial than buffaloes; the sun is not superior to the moon; the east is not inferior to the west, nor is the inner house more important than the outer. Everything, be it an animal, place or direction, is conceived of in terms of this binary division based on pairs and gender.

In Rotenese myths concerning agriculture, women occupied an important place, since the introduction of agriculture to the society was through a woman called Lakamola or Rakamora, the goddess of agriculture. The Lakamola is also the goddess of fertility of the land, which is why Rotenese women are associated with agriculture. They spend their time in agriculture as well as men, even though men's responsibilities are for the heavy jobs, such as felling the trees, repairing and building fences, cleaning and ploughing rice fields before planting. Planting, watering, harvesting storing, distributing, marketing are women's responsibilities. Men also help the women in



marketing, and watering the crops.

Rotenese houses are closely related to belief in *Lakamola*. They have to give a special place for *Lakamola* the fertility goddess, for women, hearth and food storage, and yet another for men and weapons in every traditional house. If they wrongly site the shrine of the *Lakamola*, it will cause a lot of trouble in the household. A *Lolu* (traditional architect) is needed to built the traditional house. The traditional house has to be orientated so that the front of the house faces the north or the south. On the inside of the top-east corner of the house called *uma tokadulu*, which is wide and well decorated, they tie a *hanik*, and at the *uma tokamuli* (west end of the house) they hang the offering for the *Lakamola* which consists of an ear of corn and rice (*bulir padi*), and the other nine seeds called *Lakamola Anan* (*Lakamola's* Nine Children). All the harvest, is brought to the *uma dalek*, and stored by the women, and distributed by them. Everything in the *uma dalek* is women's responsibility. Nothing can get out of *uma dalek* without the permission of women. The status of women in the *uma dalek* has been protected by their men, and women have the right to manage all the harvest in *uma dalek*. The prosperity of a family lies in the hands of women. A Rotenese girl has to know how to cook, plant rice in the field and weave before being married.

## 2. Rotenese Traditional Marriage and Bridewealth

In order to understand Rotenese gender relations it is necessary to examine in detail the ritual associated with marriage. The wedding is the foremost ritual of social location, and its public celebration confirms status. Marriage is celebrated in many different ways in Rote though most people follow one of the following three types; firstly, *Netanek* or *Nduna henek* (proposal marriage); second, *Nelaik* (elopement marriage); and third, *Lenggu bara sinik* or *palu anak* ("change the mat" or levirate). Marriage based on the formal proposal is regarded as the most respectable variety

The procedure of the traditional marriage by proposal consists of six steps. The first step involves the wife-takers delivering a *ndunak* (betel box). The group which brings the betel box as a symbol of the marriage proposal from the prospective

bridegroom's family consists of odd number of people (5,7,9 or 15). The idea of the odd number means that the visitors would become an even number with the girl. Numbers 11 and 13 are not appropriate because 11 would become 12 when they gather with the man's parents, and also 13 is believed to be an evil number. The main items for this occasion comprise a *ndunak* (betel box) containing symbolic gifts such as betel leaves, areca nut, lime and tobacco, as well as some gold and silver jewellery and money. This box is called *ndunak maissek* (betel box containing valuables) and is wrapped with a piece of white cloth and tied with threads with nine knots in the middle, symbolizing the nine months of pregnancy of the girl's mother. Another three knots are tied on the other side, symbolizing three years of breast-feeding. This wrapped box is called *mbotis*. The group is the formal delegation representing the bridegroom's family. The delegation is headed by an old married woman, who is the spokesperson and who conveys the family's intention to ask for the hand of the bride from the bride's parents. One young girl holds the wrapped betel box (*mbotis*), while another woman holds an unwrapped betel box. An old man acts as an assistant to the leader, and another man acts as the intermediary between the bride and bridegroom's families. The other members have to accompany the group in order to ensure that the number of people in the group is odd. Before the delegation visits the girl's parents' house, they have to send a messenger to inform the girl's parents that a young man's family (giving the name of the family only) wants to visit in order to make a proposal to the young girl's family. They make an appointment, and the girl's family prepares to receive the delegation. The delegation has to arrive right on time. If they are late they will be fined, or perhaps made to wait outside the house for several hours.

In *nusak Dengka*, for example, as soon as the delegation arrives, the guests are invited to enter. The woman who holds the wrapped betel box, goes directly to the west side of the house, known as '*sekon muri*' or '*sosoik*', and sits down on the floor with her legs stretched out in front of her. She places the wrapped betel box on her lap, while waiting for the negotiations between the families to commence. Usually, the parents are not allowed to be involved in these negotiations. When the bride's family



agree to the proposal, the woman takes the wrapped betel box and gives it to them. Usually, the elder brother of the girl will take the wrapped betel box, and open it. He announces its contents, which if accepted, will go to the bride's parents and the bride. The unwrapped betel box is now offered to all the audience, from the older to the younger participants, to make betel-chews. If the girl's family do not agree the bridegroom's party take back the *mbotis* and open it in the young man's parent's house. If the girl's parents completely refuse the proposal they answer the delegation softly, saying for instance, that she is still very young and cannot even identify the right hand from the left. By this they are suggesting that the delegation should try to find a different girl. Sometimes the refusal is followed by slaughtering a pig, some part of the pork being sent to the young man's family. This action is a symbolizes the end of all activities related to the proposal; closing the door to this young man's family. But, if the refusal occurs without slaughtering a pig, it means the door is still open, and so the family is allowed to come for the second or third time. In this case the answer is 'give us some more time, because we want to know what is the girl's opinion, and whether or not she wants to accept the young man to be her husband'. Then they invite the delegation to come again after they consult the girl, her mother's brother (*to'o huk*), her mother's mother's brother (*ba'i huk*) and the family from her father's side who may live far away. If the girl has an unmarried older sister, the young man has to make a traditional payment 'for the older sister' to her parents, to enable her younger sister to marry before her.

The second step is to introduce the future bridegroom to the bride's parents and extended family, followed by *elo* or the bridegroom's introduction to the girls parents. The *elo* is done with the permission of the girl's family. After the proposal has been accepted, the young man is accompanied by an old man to the house of the girl's parents. The young man has to bring his own betel bag known as *tondas*.<sup>2</sup> The young man also wears a traditional cloth, a *lafa ina* (special traditional woven cloths for men) and a *lafa ana* (small *lafa*) hanging on his shoulder, and a *solangga* or *ti'ilangga* (traditional hat). The *tondas*, *tilangga* and *lafa* symbolize a mature man, who is ready to

marry. Besides introducing him to the girl's parents, he also will be able to stay there for at least three months, or sometimes for years. This occasion is called '*elo*' in west Rote or '*nama tate*' in east Rote. During the *elo* or the engagement period, the young man is allowed to go back to his house at any time, but he still leaves his *lafa* at the girl's house, because traditionally, if the young man takes away his *lafa*, it is a sign that he does not want to continue with the engagement in order to marry the girl. During the period of dedication, the young man and his fiancée are not allowed to sleep together. The girl's brother always takes care of her. The young man and his fiancée may converse, but are not allowed to talk about sex or have sexual contact. When a young man has finished the dedication period successfully, the third step is followed.

The third step is *tu'u belis* or accumulating bridewealth. This step brings together the future bridegroom's family to talk about bridewealth (*belis*). The standard of the bridewealth depends on the social rank of the girl's parents. Most of the bridewealth is paid by the groom's parents and his brothers, with some support from their family members and friends. Payment of bridewealth is a social responsibility in which every member of the clan participates.

The girl's family also prepares to accept the bridewealth. According to Rotenese custom (*adat*), those who have the right to accept the bridewealth are the *amak nak*, (the father and father's brothers), *to'ok* (mother's brothers), *bai huk* (mother's mother's brother). The bridewealth will be divided into three unequal portions, the first of which is for the mother's brother, the second is for the father, and the third is for the girl's brothers. The value of the proportions descends in the ratio 3:2:1. The largest portion is for the mother's brother or mother's line including *bai huk*. The relationship between a mother's brother and his sister's child is characterized as 'a sister's child as plant' (Fox 1971:235).

In the past, the father and brothers (*amak nak*) would receive the '*Oe ai*' (*oe* is water; *ai* is wood), as the symbol of the exchange function of the girl who would collect fuel and water for her family, while her mother's brother would receive the '*susu Oe*' (breast milk) representing her mother's family responsibility for taking care of her like a



plant. Now, in west Rote, the father and his family receive '*tua mbilas*' (*tua*, sugar; *mbilas*, red), the first juice of the palm as a symbol of the best product of the harvest. The bridewealth can be paid with animals (buffaloes, cows, horses, goats and sheep), gold (traditional pendants or *habas*, rings, bracelets or coins), land (wet and dry rice-fields) and multi-crop (*mamak*) trees (coconut and *lontar* palm), and money. The people who receive the bridewealth are from both sides of the bride's parents. That is why the mother's brother receives the *susu oE* (breast milk) as a sign of respect for her mother's family's function in bringing up her sister's daughter. For the Rotenese the role of a mother's brother involves many responsibilities. He protects his sister on behalf of his parents until she is married and then takes care of and protects his sister's daughter until she is married. That is the reason why when the daughter is married, he is the one who has the right to receive breast milk (*susu oE*). Also mother's mother's brother (*bai huk*) has the right to some of the bridewealth. For they also provide the bride with what she needs when she moves to her husband's house after marriage.

The fourth step, *fe belis* (to give the bridewealth) occurs when the groom's parents prepare to pay the bridewealth to the bride's parents and family (*fe belis*). When the bridewealth has been accumulated, the *manafe belis* (the delegation who brings the *belis*) bring the bridewealth to the girl's parents. They also bring a spear and a sword, which are stuck on the east ceiling of the girl's parents' house symbolizing the relationship between the two families. If the commitment to the marriage should fail, then the spear and the sword will act as a reminder of the cordial intentions of the wife-takers. As a sign that the bride price is already paid, the girl's parents slaughter a pig and send the *timik* (lower jaw of the pig) with cooked rice to the young man's parents. Back at the young man's parents house, the delegation have to make a full report to the family members present. Then they eat the food sent by the girl's family. The bone of the lower jaw of the pig is hung in the ground floor of the house as a sign that they have already got the girl's skull. It is a symbol that the girl now belongs to them.

During the fifth stage the bride and bridegroom are brought together in a ceremony called *nekebuas* (gathering). It is held three days before the marriage party

and during the ceremony the bride and the bridegroom are allowed to be together, in a special room prepared for this occasion in the bride's house. The room is upstairs in the east side; in this room twelve mats are spread on the floor, with three to six pillows. The room is purified by a *manasonggo* (spiritual leader or a mediator), who slaughters a white male sheep, whose meat is cooked for the ceremony. The bride, being a virgin girl, has to wear a cloth belt with nine knots, and three knots with the same symbol, i.e. meaning of nine months pregnancy and three years of breast feeding. These knots are untied by the bridegroom before he and his bride make love. There is an old woman present who helps him to loose the knots if he fails to do so. This ceremony could also be performed at the bridegroom's house. The bride and bridegroom have to eat together from a big bowl, as a symbol of togetherness. Both of them are surrounded by all their friends. They can joke and chat to each other for the first time.

The sixth step in the wedding ceremony is the wedding party (*dode, makapora or mapora*), which is held in two places, at the bride's house and at the groom's house. The activities at the bridegroom's house involve preparing for the party, starting from when they decide the day the ceremony will be carried out. The party in the bridegroom's house is more solemn and grander than the party at the bride's house. The invitation to all the family and friends is sent orally by one of the close relatives. The phrase for this invitation is 'let us go to wait for the nine crops harvest' (*mai ita tahani mbule sio*). The bride is the symbol of the crops. From the time they decide to make this wedding party, all families and friends are kept very busy. They pound paddy, collect firewood, tether the animals around the yard, and for whole days and nights they stay in the groom's house, awake and waiting for the harvest (*be'e mbule sio*). All the *feto feuk* or sisters-in-law and *mone feuk* (brothers-in-law) are kept busy preparing for the occasion. Besides cooking the food, they have to prepare many betel boxes to offer to the guests and other important items for big parties like this.

At the bride's house the preparations for the party take a different form. Here, the invitation phrase is "let us go to prepare the girl's belongings and bring her to her house (*mai ita mbeda inak ana petin, teu tao ina anak neni uman neu*). This preparation



is similar to the preparation of a dowry for a girl in India when she wants to marry.

According to Jack Goody and S.J. Tambiah, who discussed the dowry in India:

A dowry is a property given to the daughter to take with her into marriage. A dowry also connotes, in complementary fashion that property is transferred together with a daughter so that she is enabled to enter into marriage. Dowry lends itself to being dressed up as 'gift' that accompanies the gift of the virgin (Goody & Tambiah 1973:62-64).

The Rotenese bride's gift resembles a dowry though there is an important difference. In India, for example, land and cattle are not included in the dowry. In Rote, however, the dowry is a gift not only from the bride's parents but also from her mother's brother including rice fields, multi-crop gardens, and palm trees or coconut trees called *feo poik*. It is not meant to be redistributed among the groom's family. All the goods that the bride brings from her family are for herself and her husband. But the bridewealth does not belong to the new couple. The bridewealth will be distributed between those who have the right to receive each according to his own portion. As Sharma has explained:

The dowry is given at the time of the wedding or very soon after. It usually includes household goods (furniture, bedding, perhaps electrical appliances) and clothes (most of which are destined to be redistributed among the groom's kin). There may also be certain goods designated more or less as personal gifts for the groom. Some cash may be given but in North India, land, agricultural equipment and cattle are never included to my knowledge, in spite of their central importance to the rural economy (Sharma 1984:63).

In contrast, the dowry in Rote is purely the bride's gift and thus differs substantially from the dowry in India, since Rotenese women also have the right to have land at the time of their wedding. The possession of land indicates that the status of Rotenese women is not low. Many Rotenese marriages in urban Kupang still keep the custom of bride's gift in their marriage procedure. Usually, they make a long list of the contents of the bride's gift, which is read in front of the families at the thanksgiving party held at the bridegroom's house. This usually takes place on a Sunday after the new couple have attended church. The bride's gifts can be compared to the dowry of Chinese in Fukien and Kwantung as described by Freedman.

The daughter of a rich family can expect to be sent off with a substantial dowry in the form of jewellery and cash, in addition to the bedroom furnishing that form a standard part of the bride's trousseau. That dowry and trousseau are put on open display (Freedman 1966:55).

In Rote, usually, on the eve of the wedding day, the bride's family and friends come at 7.00 pm, bringing gifts for the bride to add to her belongings (*bua anafeto*). The gifts include kitchen tools, clothes, blouses (*kebaya*), traditional accessories, gold, bedroom furniture and money.

The next morning the party is held, but most of the guests are given fresh meat, so that they may cook for themselves at home. After the ceremony, they bring the bride and bridegroom to the bridegroom's house, with all the traditional music, especially with gong, and dances. The party lasts for the whole night, and at the end of the ceremony, the bride and the bridegroom are seated together and the older people give them advice about living as husband and wife: how to behave towards their parents, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts. When they arrive at the bridegroom's house, all the bride's belongings are checked by an older man from the bridegroom's side. These things have to be balanced by the bride price that the bridegroom's family have already paid. Sometimes these bride's belongings are much more than the bride price. Traditionally, the bride brings everything related to caring for a household: a pig, a sheep (already slaughtered), a bundle of woven cloths, fried corn, *cucur* cake (fried flour with sugar palm), a bunch of bananas, a bunch of coconuts; a cat, chicken, firewood, cooking pot, fire fan, and three stones for the stove. The rest of the girl's gifts will be given to the couple after three, seven or nine days of marriage. The young married couple will be invited by the bride's parents and families to visit their house, and they make another party for them. When they go back to the bridegroom's parents' house, they take along some food, usually, pork and rice, for the other family members who are waiting at home. Usually, there are three kinds of a girl's belongings which she could bring to her husband's house. These belongings are known as *bua ana feto* (the bride's properties), *bua fua uma* (given by her parents and families) and *lepakai*<sup>3</sup> (travelling outfit). Everything that is brought by the girl has to be listed.

Usually, all these steps are followed by a respectable young girl, who starts her marriage procedure through a traditional proposal by the future bridegroom's parents



and family to her parents and family. By going through the process of a proper proposal marriage a woman has a high status in her own family, before and after marriage, because she has her own property that she controls. If a girl's mother had a bride-wealth, this must be taken into account when the girl wants to marry. The girl must have a bridewealth, especially for her mother's brother and mother's mother's brother (*to'o huk and ba'i huk*). Thus, the rank of a girl in terms of a bridewealth depends on her mother's bridewealth. In neighbouring Sumba, a daughter of a mother who had high bridewealth must have the same bridewealth or higher than her mother's when she wants to marry. It is regarded as shameful when the family demands a high bridewealth for a girl whose mother never had a bridewealth. That is also the reason why some families do not want their son to marry without paying a bridewealth. A woman has an important role in the family before and after marriage. The rank of her children can be identified by her rank through a marriage proposal.

The second system of marriage is '*ne laik*' or elopement marriage. There are two kinds of elopement marriages; firstly, elopement together and secondly elopement by the girl herself, usually, because the girl's parents have refused the young man's proposal, or to avoid a high bridewealth. When lovers want to elope, they make an appointment about the time and place to meet before they run away. Usually, the young man's family members help him. Then, the boy and girl run away to a respectable old man, knowledgeable in local custom, to seek protection. The old man is responsible for reporting the elopement to the girl's parents. If the old man does not report it as soon as possible, and allows the girl's parents to try to find out by themselves, then the young man will be fined and will have to pay (the *ali dila nggawk*, to take out the thorn) one big female buffalo or twelve goats/sheep to the girl's parents and one small buffalo or five goats/sheep for *kena lelesu* (close the door) to the traditional judge. After the young man has paid all the fines, they are brought to the girl's family, to make a peaceful settlement. The negotiators then talk about a bridewealth payment, which the young man can afford. Should the girl's parents still disagree, they will take back the girl before the young man has paid all the fines.

The young woman may also elope by herself. This kind of elopement occurs when the young woman acts on her own. She goes to the young man's house and announces that 'I am looking for my house' *au sangga au uman*. When the young man's parents agree, they will send a message to the girl's parents, and the young man will not be fined. But if the young man's parents disagree, they will send the girl back home with several people, saying that 'this girl is trying to find her home, but she is lost, thus, we bring her back to her home'. Sometimes the young man is also fined, if it is proved that he too is involved in this scheme.

The third kind of marriage *lenggu bara sinik*, *lenggu rali anak* or *palu anak* occurs when the husband dies. The widow is not automatically still a member of her husband's clan, but she can decide for herself. Usually, nine days after her husband's funeral, one member of her family asks the widow in front of the knowledgeable man's family, whether she wants to go back to her family or still stay in her late husband's family. Sometimes, the widow wants to remain in her late husband's clan because of her children. When she wants to remarry, the bridewealth is paid to her family, not to her husband's family, because the bridewealth is not a purchase price. She still has the right to refuse men in her husband's clan, and after remarriage she will move to her new husband's clan, but without her children. When the remarriage is to one of her husband's brothers or to a man in the same clan as her deceased husband, she is allowed to keep her children. *Lenggu bara sinik* (Thie and Dengka; *lengu rali anak* in Delha and Oenale; *Palu anak* in Rote Timur) happens when the widow decides to marry one of her late husband's brothers for her children's security.

There is another marriage in Rote called *barta* or *helu barta* which is an agreement between two families to make their children marry after they have grown up. But this agreement has no sanctions. This may be compared with Sumba, where there is a betrothal in infancy, made by two families, which is followed by paying a bridewealth, that is difficult to cancel (Forth 1981:374-375).

In Rotenese society there is a customary law concerning the choice of marriage partner. For example men and women from the same *bobongik* (birth groups) are not



allowed to be married. They are prohibited from marrying among themselves to relatives such as *mane oen*, *feto oen*, *hanas*, *nisak* and *tia lain*. The reason is that the couples are like brother and sister, due to the historical or genealogical background that made them members of one clan. So they are not allowed to marry because their relationship is considered incestuous.

*Mane oen* is marriage to a parallel cousin from the father's side. Marriage between children whose fathers are brothers are prohibited. In Rotenese society, the term *mane oen* sometimes covers all patrilineal members of a clan or even marriage between some clans who are closely related to each other. All these groups are called *leo bobonggik* (*leo* in one lineage), and the members are called *bobonggik*. Marriage between them is prohibited and sexual relations would be incestuous. In east Rote this is called *nesao uma laik* (married inside the house), in Ba'a, *nggani lenak* (to trespass). A long time ago, those who contracted forbidden marriages were expelled from the society. They were called *ndi'i mukuk* ('crippled ear'). A child from such a marriage is called *ana telutae* (unlawful child). *Feto oen* are the children from a mother's sister. The term *hanas*, or hot, is applied to the following forbidden marital relationships: mother with son-in-law, father with daughter-in-law, child with his step father or step-mother, children fed at the same breast. Infringement of these relationships will cause a lot of trouble in the family.

*Nisak* is the term applied to marriage between two enemy clans, where the enmity is sworn to be everlasting. Sometimes, this kind of infringement can be neutralized by a special ceremony called *mbeda tende*.

*Tia lain*, refers to solidarity between two clans who, being in the same difficulties, as in the case of *leo Boluk* and *leo Wanggi* in Dengka, took an oath to be brother and sister, so their descendants cannot be married. In Rotenese society, a good friend, a faithful friend is treated as brother or sister.

### 3. Rotenese's Myths of Bridewealth

According to Koentjaraningrat, bridewealth is common to the majority of

Indonesian ethnic groups. He claims that there are three kinds of bridewealth. First, gifts (*mas kawin* or *belis*) made by the future husband and his family to the future bride's parents and family before the marriage ceremony is held, i.e. 'bride-price'. Second, bride service (*pencurahan tenaga untuk kawin*) is a service given by the future groom to his future bride's parents before they decide whether he is allowed to marry the girl or not. Third, bride exchange (*pertukaran gadis*) refers to the groom and his family providing a girl from their side to marry a member of his future bride's family, before the groom is allowed to marry his girl (Koentjaraningrat 1972:77).

Rotenese society has two of these kinds of bridewealth: bridewealth (bride-price) and bride service. Bridewealth is common, and every young man and his family have to prepare it before they send a marriage proposal to the girl's family. According to Koentjaraningrat, all the native words for bridewealth have the meaning of purchase, but further analysis shows that it is not a purchase, but rather a kind of filling of a vacuum in the girl's family house, because the girl has moved to her husband's family. The women's potential contribution has been lost thus there must be something to replace it. This is done by paying the bridewealth. In the Rotenese society the bridewealth is more like an exchange price. The groom's family will provide big animals such as buffaloes, horses, sheep or goats, and the bride's family will balance with a big feast, slaughtering these animals, and also pigs provided by the bride's family. Or the bridegroom will provide raw materials and the bride's family will provide cooked food. The girl's family have to pay all the costs for a marriage party (*sao mba*). She also must bring all she needs for a household, for example, from food to the kitchen tools, bedroom furniture to common room furniture, and a piece of rice-field besides. Everything she brings has to be listed, so the man's family know that the girl did not come empty-handed.

According to Rotenese mythology, the bridewealth includes a fire-stone (a stone to make fire by striking on steel), a rice-mortar for pounding the paddy and corn, and male kinds of iron tools for agriculture and *lontar* tapping. The myth is as follows:

The sea and the land people had a good relationship, and they knew that the sea people cooked their food by using fire and iron tools. One day



the land people (Rotenese) decided to attack the sea people in order to rob them of all these things. Before they could attack the sea people, there suddenly came a delegation with a marriage proposal from the prince of the sea, to the princess of the land people. The Rotenese decided to change their aim; instead of attacking, they asked for bridewealth for their princess. The bridewealth comprised all the things the Rotenese wanted to seize from the sea people: the fire stones, iron tools, and rice-mortars. From then on the Rotenese could cook their food, using the rice-mortar to clean the paddy, and using the iron tools for farming.

The prince of the sea became a wife-taker and the people of the land became the wife-giver, and thus the sea is male and the land is female and they are united through marriage and the payment of bridewealth. The *dae Langgak* the Lord of the earth was thought to be the first inhabitant of the island. And the second arrivals were the people from the sea, who owned higher technology than that of the first settlers. Later on, in traditional politics the *dae langgak* was given the power to control the *manek*, even though the *dae langgak* came from a commoner clan. Fox argues that the 'opposition between the *dae langgak* and the *manek* is symbolically expressed as an opposition between land and sea' (Fox 1980:109). This is an indication that the status of the land people as wife-givers is superior to the sea people who are the wife-takers, thus the *dae langgak* is superior to the *manek*, although the *manek* is the head of the *nusak*.

Bridewealth is a requirement, or a condition for a man to marry a girl. In the past Western writers overstressed the importance of 'brideprice' payments, so that the term 'bridewealth' which covered all the prestations, or goods and services exchanged between the parties to a marriage, became more valuable for analysis. Certainly in the Rotenese society, it is not only the groom who pays the bridewealth, but the bride's family have to give something in order to balance what they have already received from the man. The exchange of goods and services, and the relationships established, extend beyond the lifetime of the central participants.

Bride service is usually done by someone who has no family to help him to pay the bridewealth. The man stays in his wife's house in order to serve the family for a period of time. After rendering service in his wife's house, it needs only the announcement from the head of the village that the couple are husband and wife. In Rotenese society this is called *nebengga nggorok* (*nebengga*, to announce; *nggorok*,

village) and it involves the man giving some money to the village leader as a symbol of a formal marriage. All his children belong to him, not to the girl's family or clan. If he cannot fully pay the bridewealth or cannot work for the family in place of the bridewealth, he is allowed to wait until the bridewealth of one of his daughters can be sent to the wife's family, which is in Rotenese language *anan ibeli fe inan* (the daughter's bridewealth is for her mother's bridewealth). If they have no daughter, the bride service will continue to be provided until the family decide that it is enough. When the work is completed, the man will bring his wife and children to his own family house or clan.

The bridewealth of a widow is not as much as that of a young girl, or a woman who has not married before but who already has children illegitimately. The bridewealth (*felis* or *belis*) in Rotenese society does not really mean a purchase, so in marriage the status of women is the same as that of men, since the women are not the men's purchased goods. The status of women in Rotenese society can be understood by looking at the consequences of the bridewealth for a woman. Rotenese bridewealth is called *belis sao mba* (bridewealth of marriage meat), which means that the bridewealth paid by the bridegroom's family has to be balanced by animals and provisions for the marriage party. Sometimes what the bride's family provides is much more than the value of the bridewealth that the bridegroom provides.

When the husband dies, his widow will decide whether she will remain a member of her late husband's family or clan, or return to her own clan. Her former bride-price is not returned to her husband's family. When she wants to remarry her bridewealth goes to her own family's clan. A bridewealth is a symbol of relationship between the wife-taker's and wife-giver's clans. A wife can ask for divorce when her husband is not fair to her. When she divorces, she has the right to have some of the property that they acquired after they married.

The marriage ceremony confirms the good social standing of the woman and the prosperity of her family. From birth, a baby girl is identified as *mana dede ai* or *mana lembe oE* (she who brings light into the house, or who carries water for the



family). When she grows up, and someone wants to marry her, the man has to give bridewealth or bride service. All these things show how the society respects a woman, even as a *mana dede ai* or *mana lemba oE*, and later with a high bridewealth or bride service paid by her future husband. After her husband's death she still has the opportunity to decide whether or not she wants to stay.

In comparison with other parts of NTT, Rotenese women have more independence. In Sumba, for example, after payment of the bridewealth the girl is owned by her husband's clan, even after her husband's death. She has no right to leave her late husband's clan. If she remarries, her bridewealth is sent to her late husband's clan or family. In Savunese society, after the husband dies, as soon as possible after the funeral, the widow's family is asked to take her back to her family, without her children. She will come to visit her children, but she does not belong to her late's husband family any more. Thus, the marriage relationship only exists during her husband's lifetime. That is why in Savu, the widow's family have to take back the widow to her own family as an unmarried woman especially when the widow is still young. When she wants to remarry, her status is not as a married woman, and thus, it is easy for her to follow procedures from the start.

In Rotenese traditional society, the parents are responsible for looking for a wife for their son. Usually, the girl they want to be their son's wife, is one who can serve their family with the betel and areca nut, as a symbol of good relations between the families. A wife has a betel box with three parts; first, *ndunak bafon* (the top of a betel box), second, *ndunak ikon* (inside the betel box) and third, *ndunak bolon* (the betel box's drawer). The top of the betel box is for everybody, the inside of the betel box is for the close family, and the drawer only for her husband. It means that the inside part and the drawer of the betel box is allowed to be touched only with permission. The betel box is a symbol of relationship of male to female. It has even penetrated the vocabulary, as numerous words derived from betel and areca relate to male and female. In Rotenese and society the word *sirih pinang* (send betel box as a marriage proposal) are used for a couple who are already engaged and want to be married soon. In

Indonesian, the verb *pinang* (lit. areca) or *meminang* means to propose marriage to some one and *pinang* is betrothal. To offer a betel box with betel, areca nut, lime and tobacco to a guest is a symbol of politeness and kindness. Men communicate with each other through their *tondas*, while women make contact through their *ndunak*. The idea that chewing betel stimulates passion and brings out charm is reflected symbolically in many tales and beliefs involving relationship between a male and a female in many parts of Southeast Asia. A Vietnamese proverb teaches: a quid of betel is the prelude to all conversation (Rooney 1993:35). This expression underlines the dualistic categories in Rotenese culture since *sirih* (piper betel) is masculine, while *pinang* (areca nut) is feminine.

Rotenese women are characterized in terms of their traditional responsibilities. In the bridewealth exchanges between the wife-takers and wife-givers can be seen how the bridewealth established the relationship between male descent and female affiliation. The functions of a woman are related to water and fire, two important elements of Rotenese culture. Fire is a symbol of human culture in which the women used to bring light to the houses. Fire makes the whole house bright and is used to cook food for the members of the house. There is no life without water. Rotenese women are thus said to be the centre of the welfare activities of the household. The women's functions can only be completed when men help them to prepare all the instruments for carrying water and for cooking. A man takes the lontar leaves from the trees and makes a pair of buckets (*haik*) and a yoke for the woman to carry them. He also creates the fire from the fire stone, and gives it to the woman to cook food and to light the house. The Rotenese point to these activities as examples of the complementary roles of gender in the traditional society (Fox 1993:167)

#### 4. Female Inheritance

When a girl wants to leave home to marry she is given three kinds of presents; first, *bua fua umak* (things from home); second, *lepa kai* (travelling outfit); third, *bua ana fetu* (bride's belongings). The things from home, and the travelling outfit are the



parent's provision while the girl's belongings are the things given by her family and friends, or things acquired by her own cultivation. The things from home comprise gold, silver, precious stones, sewing machine, bed, and other traditional cloths. The travelling outfit refers to animals, such as buffalo, horse, cow, together with property such as dry fields, coconut trees, lontar palms, salt fields and rice fields. When a rice field is described symbolically in the travelling outfit it is called *kakau u'ak* (rice in a bowl); coconut and lontar palms are called *tua boboik* (sugar in a bottle); and a salt field is called *deta masik* (take the salt with the finger tip, when some one is eating). If a married woman dies, without any children, the 'things from home' (*bua fua uma*), and 'the girls belongings' (*bua ana feto*) have to be returned to her family. The 'travelling outfit' (*lepa kai*), even if she had children, has to return to her family. But if she has a daughter, the daughter may keep the 'travelling outfit'. The 'travelling outfit' can be inherited through the mother's line.

When a girl is not married, she has the right to stay in her parents' house, and be fed by her older brother. In Rotenese society the son is entitled to inheritance, which extends to his widow and children. Thus a woman has an opportunity to acquire an inheritance from her father-in-law, through her husband's entitlement, and from her own parents when she leaves home for marriage. She has the right to go back to her own family after her husband's death, but she can stay in her late husband's home and have an equal right to the inheritances on behalf of her husband and children.

The woman is in charge of the prosperity of the family and before she moves to her husband's house, the husband's family prepare to receive the new bride. This is likened to people preparing for the harvest, since the bride is the symbol of a good harvest (waiting for the *mbule sio*, or waiting for the nine seeds).

The women participate in almost every aspect of agriculture from planting to the weeding, harvesting, storing and distributing the produce. A women must ensure that sufficient produce is stored to last the year until the next harvest. In lontar palm tapping, she collects the juice from where it is left by the men and distributes the daily food for domestic animals, and distils sugar juice for storing for the whole year. The

husband builds or owns the house but the wife comes with most of the furniture for the inner house and is given the right to manage the interior as the centre of the household's welfare.

## 5. Summary and Conclusion

The Rotenese identify everything around them in dualistic terms: the parts of the house, animals, kinship groups, goods of the bride and bridegroom. Opposite pairs are complementary: west to the east side of a house, cat and dog, wife-takers and wife-givers, male's goods and female's goods, raw materials and cooked food. When the two sides come together it will create a complementary whole.

The Rotenese kinship is based on a patrilineal system, but the mother's brother and mother's mother's brother of a female affine play an important role in their sister's children's lives. The Rotenese are not only close to the father's side as a descent group, but also the mother's side as their affinal group.

In the marriage procedure the wife-taker and wife-giver complement one another in order to make for a respectable marriage. Both sides could be fined if the marriage is not correct. The wife-takers pay the bridewealth to the wife-givers who will offer the girl with her belongings. The husband builds the house, though the wife brings most of the furniture from the kitchen tools to the bed. In modern times this culture has influenced the urban society of Kupang where the girl's belongings are sent to her groom one or two days before the wedding, so that the groom's family can prepare the bride's room before the bride and bridegroom arrive.

The contract of marriage ends when one of the couple dies. When the husband dies first, his wife will choose whether to remain or to go back to her family. She is free to decide which way she wants to go. But, for the sake of her children, she usually chooses to stay. The wife also has the right to inherit something from her parents-in-law on behalf of her husband.

The bride also brings her belongings (*bua fua uma*, *bua ana fetu* and *lepa kai*) from her family with her, and she and her husband can use them. When she dies all



these things must be sent back to her family but when she has children usually the children will keep them. In Rotenese kinship and marriage, bridewealth and bride gifts make up their new house (*uma*). The husband and wife complement each other in the inner and in the outer house.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>Forth analyses the custom among the Nage of central Flores, where it is named *weca zea*. This ritual is associated with communication with spirits. He also stated that the scattering of uncooked rice is a widespread ritual in Malaysia and Indonesia (Forth 1994:185-213).

<sup>2</sup> It is the right of an adult male to carry a *tondas*. Offering a *ndunak* or betel box (for a woman) and *tondas* (for a man) to some one is a mark of hospitality. They receive a passing guest not with tea or coffee, but only with betel box or betel bag. Rooney describes the importance of chewing betel as: The main reason for chewing betel seems to lie in the social affability produced by sharing a quid with friends. This enjoyment can be seen on the faces of a group of elderly men squatting around a betel box, or heard in the laughter of women relaxing in the rice field with a betel basket (Rooney 1993:5).

<sup>3</sup>*Lepa kai* from the word *lepa* and *kai*. *Lepa* is a piece of cake made of coconut and sugar palm, mixed together and cooked. Usually, the cake can be kept for a long time, or can be used as a lunch snack when someone wants to travel.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### GENDER DIVISION OF WORK IN THE INNER HOUSE (UMA DALEK)

#### 1. Introduction

The traditional Rotenese house is divided into two partitioned halves. The west side of the house, with the cooking fire, the water pot, the basket for the *pule sio* or nine seeds of the agricultural cult, the ladder into the loft, and the never empty pot of lontar syrup (*bou nitu inak*, 'great spirit jar') is the women's half of the house and is called the *uma dalek*, the inner house. Everything in the inner house is regarded as female, including the animals that are close to women, such as cats and pigs. The east side is the man's half of the house and is called the *uma deak*, the outer house. Swords, spears and everything else associated with it, including dogs, sheep and goats, are identified as male. In the same vein I prefer to use the words inner house (*uma dalek*) and outer house (*uma deak*) as categories of the division of work (Fox 1993:145-158).

This chapter will describe the work that men and women do, and the responsibilities that they have. Traditionally, most of the inner house work is done by women, but men also participate in it. A woman also participates in the outer house work of men because often the man begins the task and then the woman completes it. Husband and wife are thought to complement one another in the inner house and outer house. In the inner house a woman has the right to make decisions. A man turns to his wife to ask for solutions to problems related to the inner house since women have the responsibility for them. Through the notion of inner house and outer house, gender complementarity can easily be identified.

The distinction between inner (*dalek*) and outer (*deak*) sections of the house is given marked gender associations. Although the house as a whole is conceived of as female and only one woman may have jurisdiction over it, the closed 'inner house' at the western end of the building has the strongest female associations. This precinct is reserved as a sleeping place for unmarried girls of the household. By contrast, adolescent boys should sleep in the 'outer' section of the house (Fox 1993:159).



The status of Rotenese women can be seen through their traditional role in society. Gender roles already exist in the family when a baby is born. A baby girl is called *mana dede ai* (she who lights the house) and *mana lemba oe* (she who carries the water), while a baby boy is called *mana ledi tuak* (he who taps the lontar juice). The roles of men and women or husbands and wives are shaped by their inner and outer house activities. Even though the woman lights the house and cooks the food, it is the man who lights the fire with flint and steel. Similarly, though the woman carries the water, the buckets(*haik*) and the pole for carrying water (*lelepak*) she uses are made by the man. Moreover, though weaving is exclusively done by women, the tools they use are made by men. Interestingly, once the woman begins using the tools given to her by the man, no man is allowed to touch them: it is taboo. Old women usually tell their grandsons the story about a naughty boy who turned into a monkey after his mother beat him with a weaving sword. As a monkey he said: "I have to live in the trees in the forest, eating only fruit and drinking water from rocks, and I am not able to eat fried corn or drink palm sugar which are Rotenese food" (*Oe biu batu au nun delia, pela dele - dele ma tua kabo - kabo au nun ta lia*).

Both men and women are involved in agriculture and in *lontar* juice production. Most women's work is done at home at the inner house except for planting and harvesting. Only women do the planting and harvesting, (see Appendix VIII for a case study). When planting corn, the man usually walks in front with a dibble stick to make holes, while the woman walks behind him with a basket of seeds and puts the seeds in the holes. Weeding is men's work. The heavy work is done by men, and the light work is done by women, although the most important thing to notice is that women spend much more time in housework in the inner house than men. In the rice field men carry the young paddy to the women, who plant it. According to local informants this procedure is followed because fertility is in the hands of women. We may, however, consider economic factors such as the need to employ all available labour during planting, ploughing, harvesting and weeding though this may not necessarily be recognized by the people themselves. After harvesting all the yield is brought to the

house. When the harvest gathered in, the women take responsibility for distributing it among the family and storing it. Only women can take the rice or corn from the store room for cooking, since it is thought that the hands of women will make the paddy last longer. Parallels can be drawn elsewhere in Southeast Asia such as among the Iban of Sarawak described by Freeman<sup>1</sup> and the Toraja of Sulawesi. The Rotenese woman sees herself as a housewife, in the sense of the term elaborated by Oakley. Oakley states: "the synthesis of 'house' and 'wife' in a single term establishes the connections between womanhood, marriage, and the dwelling place of family groups. The role of housewife is a family role: it is a feminine role" (Oakley 1990:1).

Traditionally in Rote, vegetable cultivation, salt production, poultry keeping, pig breeding, palm sugar distillation and weaving are women's subsistence work in the inner house. Palm sugar and salt distillation are done in one oven in the back yard, while weaving is carried out close to the oven, so that the woman can weave while watching the sugar and salt processing. Vegetable cultivation is also close to the house or a water spring, so that after the woman has watered the vegetable plot, she may wash dirty clothes at the water spring where she can also collect water for the home. As Alice Clark points out in her invaluable account of British women in the seventeenth century pre-industrial and primary rural society :

In the seventeenth century it (domestic role) embraced a much wider range of production; for brewing, daily-work, the care of poultry and pigs, the production of vegetable and fruits , spinning flax and wool, nursing and doctoring, all formed part of domestic industry (Clark 1968:15-16).

By 'domestic industry ' Clark means the form of production in which the goods produced are for the exclusive use of the family. The term 'family' here means a husband, wife and children and other relatives who stay under the same roof and eat from one cooking pot. Parallels between women's work in 17th century Britain and 20th century Rote can be drawn. Both societies were heavily dependent on manual labour, especially in the domestic sphere.

Domestic industry is easily developed into income generating activity such as weaving, salt production, poultry and pig rearing, vegetable cultivation, lodging and food for tourists. The overheads are low, and the skills are accessible. The *PKK*



(Activating Team of Family Welfare), an organization in Indonesia whose activities focus on women in the rural areas, also promoted activities for rural women in Rote in order to improve their domestic industry for income generation. Most of these activities were introduced through women, since people identified these activities as women's responsibilities.

Women's domestic work can also be recognized as labour, though the value of what is usually regarded as reproductive labour, (e.g cooking, cleaning, child care, water and fuel collection), may not be appreciated. Malinowski was one of the first social scientists to acknowledge the value of women's work. He argued that among the Australian Aborigines women made a greater contribution than men in economic terms. He also wrote that "Economically the family is entirely dependent upon women's work" (Malinowski 1963:9). Recognition of the contribution made by women to the economy of pre-industrial societies has received sporadic attention from social scientists, though interest has disappeared during the last two decades.<sup>2</sup> Although the Rotenese tend to characterize women's work as reproductive (child bearing and nurturing), women do make a major contribution to the local economy.

Since the work is complementary, each part has its own value. The economic value of productive work in the outer house is generally easy to calculate. Most of the work is identifiably man's work, because the man spends most of his time in the fields struggling with the sunshine or rain, cleaning the land, repairing the dykes, irrigating rice fields and climbing up and down the palm trees to tap the palm juice. Male activities are highly visible and the results of male work are readily calculated on an annual basis. In such calculations people rarely take into account the woman's share in the production. That happens elsewhere.

Indonesian women express their inner house responsibility in moral terms: love, dedication and faith. Without love, dedication and faith a woman cannot conduct her inner house work. The woman's work concerns human beings, her children, her husband, the elderly and other family members. It is difficult to transfer these moral values into material values that can be calculated. But these values are extremely

valuable and vital to the welfare of human beings. The morality of future generations is created by parents, especially the mother in the family. These values, which are encountered in Rotenese society, are reflected by what happens at the national level. For example, on each Mother's Day (22 December), a mother who has brought up her children to become successful university graduates and gain good jobs, is selected to receive an award from the President of the Republic of Indonesia. Usually, every province sends one mother who is selected from the province. There are three women from Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) who have been given the award by the President; Mrs. Betje Adel Nisnoni Djawa Amalo, Mrs. Nafsiaf Mboi-Walinono and Mrs Door Doko-Tupu; of which three, two are Rotenese women.

Thus being a mother, taking care of one's children and doing domestic work, is not seen in Rote as a form of slavery and oppression. This is also the case in the wider Indonesian society. The contemporary ethical debate concerning the role of women within Indonesia does affect Rotenese attitudes. For example, it is held that if a wife resents working in domestic sphere, the children will suffer the most. Rotenese generally argue that children need a mother, a natural mother who loves them and who dedicates her life to their upbringing and is faithful to them. When development is seen in purely material terms, this emotional contribution made by women is often ignored. Aburdene & Naisbitt in *Mega Trends for Women* suggested that 'the source of female values is caring and love' (1994:357). Rotenese women believe that only by caring and love can a woman carry on her inner house tasks which consume most of her time .

Although emphasis is placed in the emotional contribution made by women in Rotenese society, one should not lose sight of their vital economic role. For daily needs only the woman makes the decisions, since she has the responsibility for the family's welfare. That is the reason why the women's work in the inner house is easy to turn into income-generating projects such as cooking for the tourist or food shops, weaving, palm sugar refining for brown sugar *gula semut*, solid sugar *gula lempeng*, sugar juice *gula air*, washing and ironing and collecting fuel wood. These activities are increasingly being drawn into the cash economy. The division of work in the Rotenese



society has now become more blurred because of economic development, which has forced both men and women to cooperate in many productive activities. More professional activities have also become available for women, such as school teaching. New occupations are often combined with old ones and it is not unusual to find a woman working as a teacher while her husband continues farming. Couples also reduce risk by working in both the government and private sectors. They can for example, fall back on a government salary if the harvest is poor.

## **2. Women's Work in the Inner house (*Uma Dalek*)**

The conceptual distinction between sex and gender developed by Oakley is a useful analytical tool to clarify ideas and has now been widely taken up. According to this distinction sex is associated with biology, whereas the gender identity of men and women in any given society is socially and psychologically determined. There are also cultural dimensions to the definition of gender. Thus, gender may differ from one society to another and from one period to another (Oakley 1972:158).

This suggests that with development the occupations associated with gender may change. The Rotenese data shows that gender complementarity will also reoccur when women enter the cash economy, though traditional gender roles may change. Men, for example, may become involved in vegetable cultivation, weaving and marketing of woven cloths and basketry. This results in more movement between the inner and outer house. As can be seen from table 9, there are 13 inner house activities. Palm sugar processing is more complementary than any other work, and in doing it men and women are very dependant on one another. Without men women cannot get the juice from the palm trees, and without women, men cannot refine sugar juice.

### **2.1.Culinary Activities**

A woman commences cooking by pounding rice in a hollowed out tree trunk to remove the husk. Rice is boiled in a large teracotta pot on a wood-burning rice stove. If she wants to cook the maize the woman may also grind it with a small round stone on a

hand quern

**Table 9. Gender Division of Work in the Inner House (*Uma Dalek*)**

The activities in %	Rote Barat Daya n=60			Rote Tengah/ Ba'a n=45			Rote Timur n=55		
	W	M	SH	W	M	SH	W	M	SH
1. Culinary activities	44	5	51	45	1	55	59	5	36
2. Nursing and Child Care	47	30	23	55	25	20	65	19	16
3. Production & acquisition of household items	29	56	15	26	55	19	24	58	18
4. Cleaning the house	72	5	23	54	16	30	72	3	25
5. Collecting Water	59	6	35	45	8	47	62	5	33
6. Collecting firewood	47	7	46	53	10	37	57	5	38
7. Vegetable cultivation	43	37	20	36	34	30	23	64	13
Land Preparation	5	80	15	6	67	27	3	95	2
Collecting Animal manure	75	10	15	58	27	15	60	25	15
Watering	45	35	20	35	25	40	25	65	10
Marketing	45	25	30	45	15	40	3	72	25
8. Sugar palm processing	60	33	7	50	26	24	51	44	5
Tapping	0	98	2	0	82	18	0	99	1
Distilling	98	0	2	82	0	18	98	0	2
Storing and Distribution	97	0	3	87	0	13	91	0	13
Marketing	45	35	20	30	23	47	15	75	10
9. Weaving cloths in Namodale	x	x	x	68	17	15	x	x	x
Weaving				90	0	10			
Marketing				45	35	20			
10. Palm leave weaving/plaiting	39	35	26	38	42	20	32	49	19
11. Salt production	x	x	x	75	7	18	x	x	x
Distilling				75	10	15			
Marketing				75	5	20			
12. Pig rearing	80	5	15	70	8	22	75	20	5
13. Poultry keeping	57	35	8	65	30	5	75	15	10

W= women: M= Men : SH=Share

comprising a flat stone. Afterwards she tosses the maize in a flat basket (*niru*) to separate the flour from the unground grains. When she cooks, she puts the unground grain in first, later adding the flour. Pounding rice, grinding maize and cooking is done by women. In Rote Barat Daya women are involved in 44 per cent of the culinary activities, 51 percent is done in conjunction with other people, and men do only 5 percent, except in the case of those who live alone. In Rote Tengah 45 per cent of culinary work is done by women. Men do only 1 per cent of the culinary work, and



the men and women share 55 per cent of this culinary work. Women in Rote Timur are involved in 59 per cent of the work, and it is the highest percentage among the three subdistricts; men do only 5 per cent and sharing accounts for 36 per cent. The most remote district shows the highest percentage of women's work in culinary activities. Rice is regarded as a prestigious food, and the Rotenese always save it for their guests.

Since the Rotenese drink most of their meals instead of eating, Fox was compelled to describe them as the 'non-eating people of Rote' (1977:1). The Rotenese make use of lontar sugar juice (*tuak*) for a variety of foods. They drink it as juice, make beer (*laru*) from it, or distil it into spirits (*sopi*). Sugar juice can be given to the whole family from the youngest to the elderly. Therefore cooking is not a big daily chore since sugar juice can satisfy most of Rotenese food needs.

Rotenese mostly collect their vegetables from the seashore (*makan meting*, ebb tide foraging), especially during the dry season, in the form of seaweed and *agar-agar* (edible algae). In the rainy season vegetables are picked from their gardens. In the dry season they depend on the young papaya leaf, *marungga*, and not on the early maturing vegetables, such as spinach, cauliflowers and carrots. In the rainy season, they depend on vegetables grown by themselves in the garden. They have a kind of salad, usually made by mixing vegetables with hot chilli, salt and a *lontar* vinegar salad dressing. They eat the salad with *lontar* sugar or *lontar* juice as dinner.

Everyday cooking is very simple. Rice is eaten as the main course often mixed with maize, beans or peas. Some people just boil the dried grain maize, and mix it with some vegetables such as beans, peas or pumpkins taken from the garden. The Timorese like to boil maize only half-done, but Rotenese prefer everything well-done. For protein, they depend on the sea, catching fish, collecting shellfish, shrimps and crabs. Domestic animals, such as chickens, pigs, goats and sheep provide meat, but meat is not eaten on a daily basis. Rice and good meat is usually reserved for guests or for parties. Everyday foods include maize, sorghum, millet, sesame seed, peas, pumpkin, and many kind of beans.

A woman serves her family first. When the husband is in the field she has to

bring the food to the field. Sometimes one of her older daughters or sons will help her to deliver the food. She serves the elderly or the sick, her children, and other members of the house, and she herself is the last. Sometimes, the women do not eat because there is not enough food. Many women are malnourished because they take care for their husbands and children more than themselves. According to Rotenese, and most of Indonesian, custom, a mother and a wife has to serve her husband and children with love, dedication and faith, even if that makes her suffer. A women's suffering is seen in Rotenese society as indicative of her moral worth. No one can deny her dedication and love as a natural mother.

In developed countries food is easily stored in the refrigerator, but in rural Indonesia it is difficult to store food for even a few hours. Women have to cook each time they want to eat. Therefore, rural women have to cook more than once a day, especially when they serve a guest. The Rotenese always keep domestic animals around the house yard. Chicken always stay around the house, but every morning they are fed before they go and forage outdoors. In the afternoon, the chicken return to the house before being encouraged to roost in the trees for the night to protect them from predators. Dusk is the best time to catch a chicken to prepare food for a guest. Should a guest arrives at midday, the house wife may panic because it is difficult to catch a chicken. That is also the reason why guests are served food for lunch very late since it may take a long time to cook and prepare the food. When an honourable person can eat pork the problem is more readily solved since it is easy to catch a pig and the hostess does not have to depend on chicken. Feeding the domestic animals and birds such as pigs, chicken and ducks, is part of a woman's responsibilities, since the birds and animals are always needed for serving guests, and also make women's work in the kitchen easier.

Culinary activities are usually carried out or coordinated by the woman of the house, though she may share some work with other members of the household (e.g young boys, girls, other women and sometimes men). They may help to catch and slaughter the animals, and help to wash the dirty pots and dishes, or cut the firewood



for cooking. Women should not slaughter animals, especially when they are pregnant, since they believe that killing an animal will damage the baby or result in the birth of an invalid child. It is taboo. There is also a relationship between the unborn baby and the parents during pregnancy. The husband is not allowed to kill an animal, even a snake, because it will cause his baby's neck look like a snake's head without strong bones. Sometimes little boys help out in washing dirty pots and dishes, but when they are grown up and married they never want to do the washing up again because it is women's work. Women are also primarily responsible for serving food in the house and during celebrations. The kitchen is the enjoyable place for a woman. The hearth, water jar and food store symbolise the women's responsibilities in the inner house. She can serve all household members. In the kitchen she has to be able to juggle limited ingredients to make good and nutritious food for others. A Rotenese woman has learnt from experience, and from her mother, how to manage the family income in order to conserve resources. In Rotenese society, it is the woman who is the first to be blamed when a husband and children are not looking tidy when they go out, or when they do not eat properly. Now, in all secondary schools, male and female students participate in cooking activities, and as part of the curriculum they learn domestic skills such as cleaning, cooking, baking cakes, sewing, etc.

## **2.2. Nursing and Childcare**

Nursing and childcare are done mostly by women. In Rote Barat Daya women participate at 47 per cent, men at 30 per cent while 23 per cent share with others. In Rote Tengah/Ba'a women are at 55 per cent, men only at 25 per cent and 20 per cent share with others. In Rote Timur women constitute 65 per cent, men only 19 per cent, the result of most men being away as fishermen; shared work accounts for 16 per cent.

For a Rotenese woman, nine months of pregnancy and three years of breast-feeding cannot be forgotten. During the breast-feeding years the husband and wife sleep in their own rooms. It is considered shameful when a woman becomes pregnant during the breast-feeding period. This traditional way also accords with the government projects of birth control and breast-feeding. The Government has encouraged 2-3 years

breast-feeding since 1990 in order to ensure the health of the baby and to avoid pregnancy. In 1990, the national project aimed at encouraging women to breast-feed their babies for two years in the Province of NTT was announced in Ba'a-Rote by the Governor, Dr. H. Fernandes. It could be argued that Rotenese women are the key to stabilizing the Indonesian population, since the growth rate of Rote is the lowest in NTT (subdistrict Lobalain 1.49 and subdistrict Rote Tengah 0.82 in 1990, compared with NTT at 1.96). The successful implementation of family planning projects depends on support by women especially through women's organizations. Women are encouraged to be involved actively in birth control in order to protect their own and their children's well-being. 'Two children is enough, a boy or a girl are the same' (*dua anak cukup, laki-laki atau perempuan sama*) is the slogan of National Family Planning campaigns. Two children is better not only for the mother's health but also for easier caring and support of the children's education. Indonesia has been successful in family planning, and the percentage of contraceptive users increased from 19 per cent in 1976 to 48 per cent in 1987, while in Rote more than 50 per cent used contraception in 1991 (see table 32).

Feeding the children, the elderly and the sick is a woman's job, but men help out when there are no other people in the house. Usually, older women can help with feeding the children. Feeding little children needs patience and experience in order to make them eat. Bathing and clothing is also a woman's job. Sometimes the big sisters or brothers may help. Taking the children to school is mostly carried out by women. When a child goes to school for the first time the mother has to take him/her to the school, and to coax him/her to enjoy the school environment. From this first step onwards, the mother's influence is very important in a child's education, indeed a child's education mostly depends on the mother. Mothers collect their children's academic records from school every term. At that time mothers always get together in front of the school, and that is the chance for them to share information about many things related to their children or their families. The men only want to be there when there is a special invitation for them, if there is something important to talk about. The



women keep most contact with the school and are aware that the children's education is mostly in their hands. The mother traditionally provides moral and ethical education at home. Mothers spend much more time with the children than fathers and this is why 'the mother and children' are referred to as *inak kakanak*, while the man is only known as *tou manek* or male man. When the children are sick or not feeling well the mother takes the initiative to contact the doctor. Women take responsibility for their children's psychological as well as physical well-being, and know if they are sad or insecure about anything.

Sewing and buying clothes are also women's jobs. Men are only concerned with the family's welfare in general economic terms but women take responsibility for everything in the household, in order to manage whatever their men bring to them. They have to think about the children's education, food, health and clothes.

In Rotenese society there are no homes for the elderly. All the elderly stay in the house of their children, or in their own house and are served by their unmarried daughters or by their in-laws. Usually, they live in their son's house, but sometimes a daughter takes care of her parents. That is one of a child's responsibilities. If they have no children, may be one of their nephews, nieces or other family members will take over the responsibilities. Change has not come swiftly in Rote since the society is not developed into an industrial society where everybody is busy. Indonesian, as well as Rotenese, intellectuals are conscious that they need to prepare for the time when everybody is busy. They are aware, for example, of the position of the Japanese women who still keep the traditional values even in the super modern society. Japanese women are still proud of their responsibility as mother and wife in the domestic sphere.

### **2.3. Production and Acquisition of Household Items.**

The role of men in production and acquisition is highest in Rote Timur (58%) compared with that of men in the other subdistricts. But the role of women is highest in Rote Barat Daya (29%), the result of the improved communications in this subdistrict. Making or buying the household furniture is the responsibility of both sexes. Wooden furniture is made by men, but other pieces are made jointly by both men and women.

They make many articles for household by plaiting *lontar* and *pandan* leaves. The Rotenese can make their own boats (*perahu*) for fishing or sailing.

#### 2.4. Cleaning the House

Traditionally all cleaning tasks fell to women, yet today in the most developed subdistrict the percentage is lower. Early every morning little girls and their mothers sweep the house and all the rooms. A boy is never asked to sweep his own room or house, but curiously when he is still a little boy and stays with other people he would be asked to do that work as he would not be able to complain about doing it.

Washing the dirty clothes is also women's work. Before starting to prepare the day's food, they have to make sure that the whole house is clean, all the children are ready for school, everybody has had their breakfast and the dirty clothes are gathered for washing. This is the routine of the house chores. When they have to wash the clothes in a river or stream far from home, the women take along their buckets so that after washing the clothes they can carry water back to their houses. Most of this work is done by women, but they are assisted by girls and boys of the household. In tourist lodgings men as well as women have the responsibility for cleaning the bathroom or toilet for the guests. Here the tourist also belongs to the outer rather than the inner domain, and thus men become involved in activities associated with the visitors.

#### 2.5. Water Collecting

Twice a day the women have to fetch water for the household, mostly for cooking. It does not matter where they take the water from, either from a well or a spring, far away or near by, but they must do it twice a day. This kind of job takes a lot of energy, but they can meet their fellow women and talk or share much information about their everyday lives as they gather around the water source. Women only fetch water for domestic use, not for making money outside the house. Usually, men prepare the buckets (*haik*) and a pole of bamboo (*lelepak*) for women to carry water or *lontar* juice. The *lelepak* is an important tool, and women also use it to carry firewood from the forest and the harvest home.



The statistics show that while this task is still mainly carried out by women, the percentage is lower in Rote Tengah where development is more advanced. In Rote Barat Daya 59 per cent of women fetch water, in Rote Tengah /Ba'a 45 per cent, and in Rote Timur 62 per cent. The participation of men in fetching water in the rural areas is very low (between 5%-8%), although in the urban city of Kupang men are beginning to sell water using kerosene tins. This shows that traditionally, fetching water for domestic use was women's work, while now when men carry water for economic reasons, it becomes part of outer house activities.

## 2.6. Firewood Collecting

Collecting firewood has also traditionally been regarded as women's work, and it can be shown that the percentage of women engaged in this task is highest in Rote Timur, the least developed subdistrict. In Daiama in this subdistrict widows collect firewood and bring it by boat across the Pepela bay to sell at the port of Pepela. This is a way the widows have developed traditional women's work into an income-generating activity. In Kupang town, Timorese men also carry firewood to sell, but Rotenese men are not involved in selling firewood either in Kupang or Rote though they do on the island of Samau..

In Rote Timur women's role is the highest (57 %), then Rote Tengah/Ba'a 53 per cent and Rote Barat Daya is 47 per cent. But women cannot climb or fell the trees; they can only collect the dried branches, which fall around the trees. Rotenese are forbidden by adat to fell *lontar* trees until their productive years are over. Every tree owner knows when she/he can fell the trees because they are on the land they own. They only cut off the branches in the dry season. The branches that are long enough can be used to repair fences, and the smaller branches can be used by women as firewood. Usually, every five years they can cut off the branches in the dry season, so in the rainy season the young leaves will come out. To fell trees is the men's job, either for fences or for opening a new garden.

In order to save firewood, the Rotenese make a special stove for distilling juice.

Kerosene for cooking is not common in the rural areas. A little kerosene stove and brazier may be used to cook food, but not for salt and sugar juice distillation. Firewood collection is attractive work for young girls and young boys. They share the firewood collecting (46 per cent) in Rote Barat Daya, 38 per cent in Rote Timur and 37 per cent in Rote Tengah/Ba'a. While gathering firewood they collect many kinds of wild fruit such as mangoes in the forest or catch birds. Usually, they go at 11 o'clock and come back at 5 to 6 o'clock in the evening. The woodland also provides shade during the hottest part of the day. Sometimes a mother and her adult daughters, or friends, go together while chatting along the way. This is a relaxing time for them. On their return each of them carries a pole made of bamboo (*lelepak*) on the shoulder bearing at least two bundles of firewood. In the dry season they have to store some firewood for the rainy season. But in the rainy season there is no sugar and salt processing, so they do not need a lot of firewood. In the island of Semau, many Rotenese men can make a living by selling firewood, charcoal and chalk lime. These activities could damage the environment, since a lot of firewood is used for the charcoal and for lime, and the prices are not so high. During the dry season there is an abundance of firewood, charcoal and chalk lime on sale along the coast of Namosain (Kupang). In this way people make a living in the dry season while working in the garden and tapping lontar, in preparation for the rainy season.

## **2.7. Vegetable Cultivation**

Usually, vegetables are cultivated in the garden around the house, or sometimes near a spring. It is classified as inner house work. Vegetable cultivation is women's work, but men make the work gender complementary by preparing the land, digging the soil and making plant-beds. Women make an important contribution to vegetable cultivation and their duties involve: collecting fertilizer or animal manure, watering vegetables twice a day, and marketing when this activity becomes a cash activity. Traditionally, water the vegetable is a woman's job. When they want to extend this business to raise money, then the men will water the vegetables and do the marketing.

A comparison of the subdistricts shows that in the least developed subdistrict,



Rote Timur, a higher percentage of men are engaged in vegetable cultivation than women (64%), producing vegetables for sale in the urban markets. In the more developed subdistricts, the percentage of women engaged is higher since growing vegetables is not a cash activity, this being traditionally the sphere of women.

Land preparation in Rote Timur is overwhelmingly a male activity (90%), as is also the case in Rote Barat Daya (80%) and Rote Tengah (67%). Men clean and dig the land, and then women come and continue the work. Women start work by collecting animal manure, or dry leaves to burn on top of the soil in order to make fertilizer. Collecting animal manure is largely women's work and their participation is as follows: in Rote Barat Daya (75%) in Rote Timur (60%) and in Rote Tengah/Ba'a is only 58%. Rote Tengah is low because vegetables are mainly used for domestic needs. Men also help this work by carrying animal manure from the fields while they follow their animals. In Rote Tengah/Ba'a men participate at 27 per cent, in Rote Timur is 25 per cent and in Rote Barat Daya only 10 per cent.

Men and women are both responsible for watering plants. In two subdistricts, Rote Barat Daya and Rote Tengah/Ba'a women's participation is higher than that of men. This is due to vegetables in these two subdistricts being mostly cultivated for domestic use as inner house work with which women can cope.

Marketing is men and women's work. We find in Rote Barat Daya and Rote Tengah/Ba'a the participation of women is higher than that of men, while men's participation is higher in Rote Timur at 72 per cent, since most of their marketing is in far away Kupang or Ba'a. Women take the harvest to nearby markets to sell, while men take the harvest to more distant markets, sometimes by boat. Women, however, manage the money.

## **2.8. Palm Sugar Production**

When we turn to palm sugar processing, which is regarded as domestic work, we find the percentage of women engaged in the processing is higher in all three subdistricts than that of men. The highest percentage (60%) is in Rote Barat Daya where they have a greater dependence on *lontar* and are more technically advanced in the

production of high quality *lontar* sugar. Even in the most highly developed subdistrict Rote Tengah, the percentage of women engaged still exceeds that of men. Sugar juice is a highly marketable commodity. The figures show that both men and women are involved in the various processes, but in both processing and marketing the percentage of women exceeds that of men in Rote Barat Daya and Rote Tengah, more developed subdistricts than Rote Timur. This underlines the fact that development correlates with the involvement of women in the productive field.

After men tap the juice, they pour it into big buckets, (*haik*) under the trees. The women will come later to collect the juice. Some times, older women or men who cannot tap the juice, come and take it for drinking, before the women carry it to the house. September to October is the best time for sugar juice extraction. Rotenese call this period '*bulak Fandu*' (month of sugar juices). All the sugar stoves are at work the whole day. Widows can also do this work. They are paid in kind with one third of the sugar they cook, or sometimes if they undertake to distil for the owner they can take the afternoon juice as the payment, and the morning juice is reserved for the owner.

Collecting palm stalks for firewood is part of women's work but men prepare the special stoves for sugar distillation by digging a big hole in which they put firewood, while leaving a small opening through which smoke passes. Then the woman puts one or two earthen pots on the top of the big hole. Usually, one stove has three or four holes on which are put the earthen pots, and underneath are two holes; one for the firewood and one for the smoke. By doing this they will save firewood. Women boil the *lontar* liquid to make sugar juice. Every day, during the *Fandu* period (September-October) the stove is used for the whole day until midnight. Women can do this work while doing other work, such as weaving, or cooking for the family. Storing and distributing the sugar juice is women's responsibility. Before storing, women have to set some aside for everyday drinking, and the rest is stored for the whole year. Women also have to make earthen pots to store the juice. Some of the sugar is further processed to make solid sugar (*tua batu*), which they can sell for cash. Some is processed to make brown crystal sugar. From the fresh palm juice, women can make



variety of things, such as vinegar, alcohol, and a kind of baking liquid used like yeast to make bread. Both men and women do the marketing. Sometimes women can do these jobs together with other women or children while talking and joking to each other. Cheerfulness is thought to lighten the load and people encourage each other to look happy when they carry out their work. In Rote Timur men do 75 per cent of marketing, but in Rote Barat Daya only 35 per cent, since the local market in Batutua is convenient for women from this subdistrict to sell their harvest. Also this subdistrict does not depend heavily on sugar palm since they have good water resources for wet rice cultivation.

## 2.9. Weaving

In Rote weaving is still carried on by traditional methods and involves women<sup>3</sup> exclusively, the woven cloths being used for domestic and traditional purposes. A *lafa* (men's cloth) and *pou* (women's skirt) are important in bridewealth exchange in Rote (Heijmering 1884:538). These transactions compare with the woven cloths exchanged for weapons in Batak land and Timor (Niessen 1984:73-74). Only when weaving becomes a monetary activity are men involved and then only for management and marketing. In Namodale (Ba'a) there is a weaving project. This activity is undertaken by a group of people from the island of Ndao, who temporarily reside in Namodale, on the coast of Ba'a. In this small community, the men work as fishermen and carpenters, while ninety per cent of the women weave. Women's work is more financially rewarding than men's work in this village. As fishermen, men can only work when the sea is calm. When they get a lot of fish, they cannot store it for long, so they sell the catch quickly at low prices. As carpenters, they cannot always make money, since only a few people want to buy their products. Thus the community is highly dependent on women's work. They can weave on a daily basis and sell the woven cloths to the tourists in the hotels around Ba'a. Early every morning they go to sell at the hotels, before the tourists go out. As yet the cloths sold to tourists are of a traditional kind and thus little distinction can be made between those made solely for local consumption and for visitors. Graburn's distinction between so-called 'inwardly directed' and

'outwardly directed' handicrafts cannot easily be applied in Rote, though this may change. At nine o'clock the women go shopping, while selling their woven cloths on the market. Then they come home to cook, and serve their family; then start weaving again until four o'clock p.m. They prepare food for their family and go again for the second time to visit the hotels in order to sell their woven cloths to new tourists who may have come during the day. In marketing, women do 45 per cent, men 35 per cent; sharing is 20 per cent.

A women can weave two or three large cloths (*lafa ina*) and two or three small cloths (*lafa ana*) in one month. A large piece of cloth can sell for Rp.150,000 and a small one for Rp.25,000. If in one month a woman can weave two large woven cloths and two small ones, she could earn at least  $\text{Rp.300,000} + \text{Rp.50,000} = \text{Rp.350,000}$  -  $\text{Rp.20,000}$  (for the dyeing material) =  $\text{Rp.330,000}$  (£110). Weaving can only be done in the dry season. Thus, in one year a woman can earn at least  $6 \times \text{Rp.110,000} = \text{Rp.660,000}$  (£220). This money can support the family during their temporary stay in this place. They also have the skills to make many things from their woven cloths such as many kinds of bags and blankets. These skills are taught by the women's organizations in Rote.

Weaving can also be organized as a family project. A man tries to set up such a project with his family members, his wife and other women. He tries to obtain the capital from the bank, and using the women's skill he develops a successful project. In this way women can make the most of the skills they already have, and the skills of women and men can complement each other in this business. Women also want to work together with men, since men can take their woven cloths across the sea to find a good market and good prices. All the people in this village cooperate and send one man every day with all the woven cloths, and he is paid for this job. The more he can sell, the higher percentage commission he can take. He cannot manipulate the prices very much, because he depends mostly on the number of woven cloths being sold. Obviously, when the women's work seems to be developing into a new business, then men will become involved, to set everything on a more favourable basis. The business



finance is managed by the men, but domestic finance is always managed by the women. That is also the reason why women do not directly contact the bank. Through PKK women are taught how to manage the women's cooperative, so they can learn the skill of managing communal finance. But it still takes time to educate women in business finance. In particular the attitudes of women need time to change before they can feel completely confident. Perhaps more encouragement from men would be helpful.

Women are responsible for managing the household income, and this is why women are happy when they were introduced to skills by the PKK concerning the inner domain, for instance cooking nutritious food, weaving, sewing and crocheting, and creating a variety of snacks from palm sugar. All these skills can be used by the women to generate income.

The lack of women's participation in business projects and the problems that ensue is a recurring theme in the literature on development. What is not fully acknowledged, however, are the problems that arise from the exclusion of men. There are for example, some women's projects in the villages sponsored by PKK in Amarasi (Kupang) which are not fully successful because the women involved are kept away from their husbands. At home when the women need to discuss something that they do not understand, they cannot turn to their men, since the men have not been involved in this programme. Sometimes the head of the village takes over his wife's responsibility to manage the PKK finance in order to help her to administer the money. This is not because he does not want his wife to do the project, but rather that he is unsure what is confusing his wife. This is a complementary role between husband and wife. It would appear that Rotenese women are willing to participate in the development providing that they are encouraged to join forces with men in the outer domain.

Marketing is done by women, but men always take part in marketing when there is heavy demand or a need to go to a distant market by bus or by boat. But still the money is managed by their women. One case of a weaving project in which women and men work together as a home industry is given below. Here the domestic work of women turns into a development project for income generation.

The activity of weaving starts with drying and cleaning the cotton. Traditionally, women cultivate the cotton, then they take the seeds out with a gin. They fluff up the cotton with a bow, a simple tool made of bamboo with a strong thread. The cleaning is a long process. Before women start to weave men also make the weaving implements for them. This is the men's share in the weaving activities, besides marketing.

Spinning is always women's work. After the cotton is really clean, they spin it to make threads. All this is done by women with traditional tools, and takes a lot of time. They can spin while watching the palm sugar stove, or while talking to other people or a guest or may be at night before going to bed. An old Indonesian phrase says '*sehari seutas benang, lambat laun menjadi sehelai kain*', 'today a piece of thread, but later it will become a piece of cloth'. It takes patience to spin and weave.

Women organize the threads, by warping up using two pieces of bamboo, round which they wind the threads order to tie in the woven design before dyeing. Warping up and dyeing are women's work. Most of the Rotenese weaving techniques involved warp ikat, that is tying the warp threads before dyeing to produce resist patterns. The design and colour of the Rotenese woven cloths differ from those of other islands of NTT. Usually, women do the tying not by copying from a picture, but directly from their own imagination of things which are familiar to them. The weaving designs of Rote comprise animals such as birds, crabs, plants including branches and leaves, and geometric designs such as stars, squares, etc. Another very important motif in Rotenese weaving is '*bhute*' the dragon or watersnake design which was worn by the *manek* who was going to war. In *nusak* Thie the *manek* could only wear the dragon motif when he became a war leader. Once he gave up his position, he was forbidden to wear this design again. A similar observation about the dragon as a symbol was made by King for the Maloh in Borneo:

'The dragon, or as Maloh sometimes describe it 'the huge watersnake which breathes fire', could be called on for assistance in warfare. This was usually to endow protective charms such as magical stones, because the *naga* was considered to be spiritually powerful (1985:133).

Today this dragon motif has become very rare because it is said that the weaver



will have to conform to difficult ritual behaviour if she is to weave this motif. She is required to fast for 40 days to make her spirit strong enough to withstand the power of the motif before she even begins the weaving.

To dye, first they take the colouring material from plants. Traditionally, they have natural colours, and cultivate plants such as indigo (*tarum*, Indonesian and *tauk*, Rotenese) themselves. The indigo leaves are treated with lime, ash and candle-nut. This dye material can produce light blue, dark blue and black. At the first dyeing, it can produce light blue, but by repeating the process of dyeing several times, it becomes dark blue or black.

The process of dyeing is as follows: first, the indigo leaves are soaked in water in an earthen pot until they decay. It takes about 48 to 96 hours. Second, lime is added to the indigo water. The best quality of lime is obtained from the ash of snail shells or sea mussels, limestone or pumice. The best rock for this purpose is mountain limestone, since it contains less salt. Third, the threads to be dyed are mixed with the cream powder of the candle-nut in order to make it more absorbing and durable and not liable to fade. Fourth, the threads are soaked in the indigo extract that has been previously prepared. The threads are left in the indigo extract for several hours. Fifth, the threads are taken out from the earthen pot, and hung in the sun to dry and oxidise the dye. All this is done during the dry season.

The other plant is the morinda (*mangkudu*). The morinda root can produce red colour when it is mixed with areca nut and *gambir* (a special plant for chewing). The process of making red colour is as follows: first, the morinda root is pounded then put in an earthen pot or pail, kneaded and squeezed to extract the substance. The waste is thrown away. Second, loba bark, fried betel and gambir are pounded separately in order to make powder. Third, the powder is mixed with the morinda water in an earthen pot that was previously prepared. Fourth, the threads are put in to the mixed materials, stirred or kneaded carefully and left there for a few hours: fifth, the dyed threads are taken out and dried in the sun. This process can be repeated till the desired colour is obtained.

The carica papaya and moringa oleifera (*papaya* and *moringa*) can produce green colour. These materials are pounded together, then boiled with the threads. After boiling the threads are taken out and hung to dry in the sun. This process can be repeated in order to obtain the desired green colour. The curcuma domestica (turmeric or *kunyit* in Indonesian) produces yellow colour. The turmeric is pounded with *papaya* leaves, then boiled with the threads. After several hours, the threads are taken out and dried in the sun. Another plant that can be used for making yellow is called the yellow wood (*kayu kuning*). Since most of the processes of dyeing need sunshine the dyeing is carried out during the dry season.

Weaving is done in the dry season, while watching the palm sugar distilling on the stove. They never weave in the rainy season because of the demand for agricultural work. There is a division of work among women, because some of the women are specialists in warping, some in dyeing, and some in weaving. Usually, all women have to know all the skills of weaving including spinning, dyeing, warping and weaving. The dry season is also important for dyeing since, the smell of the dyeing materials is so foul that dyeing must be done outside the house. Weaving is an *uma dalek* activity, because it is part of the cash economy and men are also involved in it. From the woven cloths women create many other things for the tourist shops such as bags, clothes, hangings etc.

## **2.10. Palm Leaves: Weaving and Plaiting**

Palm leaf plaiting is undertaken for a variety of purposes for domestic or general use, from rice containers to betel boxes, buckets for *lontar* juice and water containers. In Rote Barat Daya 39 per cent of women are engaged in plaiting, mainly for containers for storing and drying the harvest; 35 per cent of men are involved, but 26 per cent is shared. In Rote Tengah/Ba'a, women participate at 38 per cent, men 42 per cent, and 20 per cent is shared. In Rote Timur women involved at 32 per cent, men 49 per cent and 19 per cent is shared. These activities are associated with equipment for the harvest, such as containers for rice or for drying mats. In predominantly rice



growing areas such as Rote Tengah the percentage of male participation is higher. The percentage of men is also higher in Rote Timur, correlating with the lower level of development, since they are more dependent than other subdistricts on traditional techniques.

## 2.11. Salt Production

Salt production is a domestic activity for women in Rote Tengah, where salt can be extracted from the sand relatively easily. This is exclusively a women's occupation and provides useful supplementary income. The process of salt distillation can be carried out in the back yard of the house alongside that of sugar distillation. This useful additional income is threatened by the development of salt refineries in Kupang which would mean women would lose their traditional role of salt producers. At present this activity involves 70 per cent of women, 20 per cent of men and 20 per cent sharing the work.

This work is done in the dry season. The group of salt producers who were the focus of this research, are found in a small hamlet called Namodale in Lidamanu. Their houses are near the coast, where the sand contains salt. The owner of the place is the *manek* of *nusak* termanu and his descendants. The people who take the sand from this area to make salt must pay salt to the *manek*. In one month a woman can get 30 big kerosene tins (a kerosene tin box of salt is 8-10 kg of salt). Twice a day she evaporates the brine in a cooking pot on a stove. In one year she has to pay only five big kerosene tins of salt to the *manek's* family as taxes. This salt can be bartered with paddy or rice. One big kerosene tin of salt can be exchanged for two big kerosene tins of paddy (a kerosene tin box = 12 kg of paddy or 6 kg of rice). In one month a woman got 30 kerosene tins of salt. She paid the *manek* (the land owner) 5 tins. When she barter with paddy she gets 25 x 2 boxes of paddy = 50 boxes of paddy or 50 x 12 kg = 600kg paddy or 300 kg rice. When she wants to sell the rice she can get 300 x Rp.600 = Rp.180,000 per month. Brine can be evaporated alongside palm sugar on a stove, in order to save on the firewood. Even though this kind of work is simple, it does

increase the quality of people's lives. The salt producers have permanent or semi-permanent houses. Their houses and yards are clean, with fences; their children look healthy; they can serve their guests with tea, coffee, sugar and biscuits. The betel box and areca nut are also brought out as a sign of respect for the guest.

Women process the salt with simple equipment: a lontar leaf bucket (*haik*), a lontar leaf basket (*kapisak*), a lontar leaf mat for filtering (*tikar*), a stove and a flat pan for evaporating the salt water. First, they spread the filter mat on a low frame and then put the salt sand on the mat. They collect sea water and pour it on the salt sand, and the salt water flows through into a pail underneath. This water is put in the flat pan to evaporate. It takes five hours to reduce the salt water to become salt, and a further two hours to dry the salt in the sun.

Usually, they can do this salt processing during the dry season for about 6-8 months. If each month a women can earn Rp.180,000 from the salt processing, it means that in one year she can earn at least  $6 \times \text{Rp.180,000} = \text{Rp.1,080,000}$  (£360). It is only a small amount of money, but what the women do helps them to support their family. This is a simple women's home industry in the areas which can be classified as non-poor villages. Compared to the amount of money earned by Daiama women Rp.384,000 per year (£128 per year), the income from salt production in Lidamanu is much higher. Daiama is a poor village compared to Lidamanu, one where people try very hard to earn money, but in a non-poor village it is much easier to do so than in a poor village.

## 2.12. Pig Rearing

Pigs play an important part in the Rotenese economy. In all subdistricts women outnumber men in caring for the animals (e.g. 80% in Rote Barat Daya, 70% in Rote Tengah and 75% in Rote Timur). This is because the pig is basic to *lontar* production, being fed on *lontar* juice in the dry season, and vegetables in the rainy season. Usually they are fed twice a day, early in the morning and in the afternoon. Pigs are women's animals, since pigs are kept close to the house which is under the women's control.



The number of pigs in Rote is 44.3 per cent of all the animals on the island, a higher percentage than any other animals reared by men (see table 21 and 22 ). The increase in pig-rearing from 1921 to 1991 is also high. The number of pigs is highest in three subdistricts, Rote Barat Daya, Rote Barat Laut and Pantai Baru.

### **2.13. Poultry-Keeping**

The participation of women in poultry-keeping is high everywhere. The highest is in the least developed subdistrict, Rote Timur with 75 per cent, followed by Rote Tengah with 65 per cent and Rote Barat Daya with 57 per cent. With development, poultry-keeping becomes a productive activity involving men, whose participation increases as shown by the figures for Rote Tengah at 30 per cent and Rote Barat Daya 35 per cent. Women feed the chickens with the husks, and sometimes with rice or maize. During the rice harvest, it is easy to feed chickens, but at other times the chickens forage for themselves.

## **3. Summary and Conclusion**

The inner house (*uma dalek*) is the women's responsibility. Men only help when needed or when the work tends to become a cash-producing economic activity, such as vegetable cultivation, marketing of agricultural products, woven cloth production, salt processing, sugar palm produce, pig-rearing, poultry-keeping. The outer house (*uma deak*) activities or economic activities are men's responsibility though the revenue is managed by the women as long as it is used for domestic needs including social and traditional needs. That is the reason why many village women's projects for income generation in the household meet the needs of the family. Women are beginning to move into wider world of productive activity and development, and the division of work between men and women is becoming blurred. Among the inner house work, weaving is an attractive traditional women's occupation in Rote as well as other NTT islands, which can be developed to be a family home industry.

Rotenese women are more actively involved in projects that are related to their

domestic work, such as cooking, sewing, weaving. Tourist projects and woven cloth projects in Rote have potential for development because both sexes are involved and they complement one another to make more profit. Men have changed their behaviour patterns to carry water and clean the bathroom for tourist guests, and go to the market to buy fresh vegetables, fish or chicken, while women devote themselves to cooking.

If a women's project allows men to participate in economic or income generation activities, which enables them to earn much money, men will support them and may even take over some of the domestic work and thus reduce the women's inner house or domestic burden. Traditionally, cooking is a woman's area of responsibility but when cooking becomes an economic activity (eg. in hotels and restaurants), men also become involved in order to support the women. In this connection Hitchcock has pointed to exceptions found in folk models. He says:

Exceptions can also be found in other folk models regarding the sexual division of labour such as the one which holds that men do the heavier tasks and women the lighter ones: silversmithing and tailoring are notable exceptions here since they are both carried out by males. However, in the majority these folkmodels serve as a fairly reliable guide (1991:198).

It is argued that as development proceeds, complementary work between men and women in the inner and outer houses will become more common, and women will increasingly work beyond the confines of the home. But in spite of this blurring of roles the influence of women in the family is still important and needs to be safeguarded.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>Freeman's comment about the storing of paddy among the Iban in Sarawak was "... The Iban believe that if the correct rituals are faithfully performed their paddy will last longer, that it will not be used up so quickly as would otherwise be the case " ( Freeman 1970:216 -217).

<sup>2</sup> Third World women play an important role in Third World economic development: in Africa women produce 80 % of the food, Asia 60 % and Latin America 40 % (Aburdene & Naisbitt 1994: 337).

<sup>3</sup>Niessen noted that weaving in Toba Batak is done exclusively by women. Men, by contrast, would be deeply ashamed to weave and none of them does it. Woven cloths are very important as bridewealth exchanges, as for example in Batak Toba, Manggarai, Sumba, Rote (1984:63-83) .



## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **GENDER DIVISION OF WORK IN THE OUTER HOUSE (UMA DEAK)**

#### **1. Introduction**

If the inner house and domestic work are female, then the outer house and public work is male. Despite the fact that the outer house is male, women are also involved in outer house activities. Planting and harvesting, for example, are conducted in the outer house by women. Women's work in the inner house has become the focus of women's development programmes aimed at helping the women implement income-generating projects. When these projects succeed men often become involved in marketing, since good markets are often located far from the village.

In the outer house activity men do the hard or heavy work, and women do the light work, although women spend much more time than men in the inner house work. Women's work is more time-consuming than that of men, yet the variation of gender roles in this society shows a distinction in kind rather than unequal work.

#### **2. Gender Division of Work in the Outer House**

The outer house is associated with men, but is also part of the women's productive domain. The division of the productive spheres into male and female zones may thus be considered to be an idiom rather than a strict economic reality. There are some activities once seen as inner house activities that now may be classified as outer house work, since these activities have become income-generating activities in which men also participate, such as weaving and vegetable cultivation. The outer house activities can be seen in table 10.

**Table 10. Gender Division of Work in the Outer House (Uma Deak).**

	Rote Bara Daya			Rote Tengah/Ba'a			Rote Timur		
	W	M	Sh	W	M	Sh	W	M	Sh
1.Rice Cultivation	32	42	26	35	45	20	33	43	24
Preparation the field	0	95	5	0	97	3	0	87	13
Transplant	45	5	50	53	5	42	57	0	43
Weeding	0	85	15	0	95	5	0	87	13
Harvesting	45	0	55	45	2	53	48	0	52
Storing & Distribution	55	35	10	57	32	19	60	28	12
Marketing	45	30	25	56	43	1	35	56	9
2.Gardening	34	43	24	23	58	19	25	56	19
Preparation	0	90	10	0	85	15	0	95	5
Planting	45	35	20	55	30	15	59	17	24
Weeding	5	45	50	2	75	23	1	90	9
Harvesting	35	35	30	25	47	28	49	12	39
Storing &Distribution	65	25	10	53	42	5	75	15	10
Marketing	45	30	25	35	53	12	15	65	20
3.Multi-Crop Gardens	5	85	15	7	90	3	4	94	2
4.Animal Breeding	0	53	46	0	67	33	0	77	23
Sheep& goats	0	48	50	0	58	40	0	73	27
Buffaloes, Cows, Horses	0	58	42	0	75	25	0	80	20
5. Sugar palm produce	60	33	7	50	26	24	51	44	5
Tapping	0	98	2	0	82	18	0	99	1
Distilling	98	0	2	82	0	18	98	0	2
Storing & Distribution	97	0	3	87	0	13	91	0	9
Marketing	45	35	20	30	23	47	15	75	10
6. Fishing	0	35	65	0	25	75	0	75	25

W, women; M, Men ; Sh, Sharing.

Although these three subdistricts experience different levels of poverty, they vary little. This suggests that the underlying rationale is cultural rather than economic. Environmental factors also appear to exert an influence, especially in subdistricts with harsher conditions. In the more arid subdistrict of Rote Timur, these conditions may have required men to work harder; certainly their activity in this domain, relative to women, is slightly higher than elsewhere.

## 2.1. Rice Cultivation

The role of men in outer house activities in these three subdistricts is still higher than that of women, even higher in Rote Tengah, where there is a larger area of rice



cultivation. In Rote Timur men take over most of the marketing, if the market is far away. The sharing of work with others in three subdistricts is between 20%-26%. The participation of others (shared), men or women, boys or girls, creates a chance for social welfare. People who have no land, help with the harvest, obtaining a share of the yield in remuneration. This work is regarded as a charity (*makambimbilik*). This idea of sharing still exists in Eastern Indonesian islands especially among the Rotenese in Rote and Timor.

**Figure 5 Gender roles in rice cultivation**

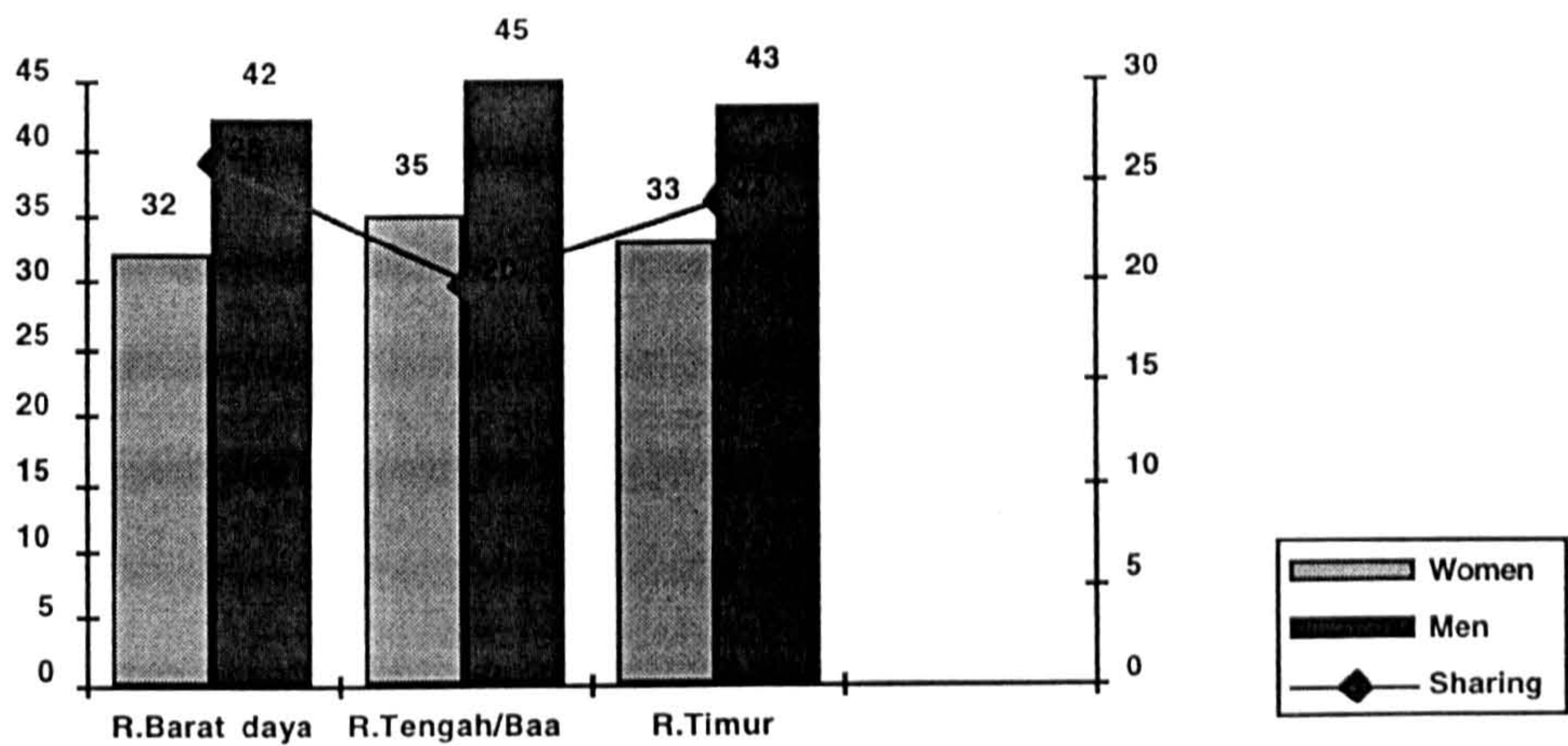


Figure 5 shows that the role of men is higher than that of women throughout the three subdistricts. The role of women is higher in subdistricts Rote Tengah / Ba'a than that of the other subdistricts, since this area is greatly dependent on rice cultivation compared to Rote Barat Daya which depends on sugar palm, and Rote Timur which relies on gardening and fishing. The joint participation by others in this activity is higher in Rote Barat Daya (26%) than the other two subdistricts, followed by Rote Timur (24%) and the lowest is in Rote Tengah/Ba'a (20%) the not-poor subdistrict of Rote. This suggests that as the economy of Rote develops certain traditional elements become redundant and eventually disappear. This is particularly the case where the cash economy predominates. People become reluctant to share the work with others since they have to pay either with money or rice. The rise in the cash economy also reduces



the incentive to share out the work with poorer families, increasing local poverty. The division of work by gender is complex and highly variable as can be seen in the different stages of rice cultivation.

The preparation of the fields includes repairing fences, rebuilding small dykes, digging and ploughing. Although the bulk of this work is done by men, the first stage shows highest percentage of men's participation in Rote Tengah/Ba'a (97%). In comparison with other subdistricts Rote Tengah has good springs and water resources and can support extensive wet rice cultivation. Next is subdistrict Rote Barat Daya (95%), where a new project of dry rice cultivation called '*Gogo Rancah*' (*Gora*) was introduced in the 1970s. Opportunities for rice cultivation have increased with the introduction of new plant varieties, though the ratio of men to women is 42 to 32. In Rote Timur the participation of men is lower than the previous two subdistricts, since they are not so dependant on rice cultivation. The women serve their men with food which they cook at home and send to the fields. The men prepare a seed-bed to sow the rice and when the small shoots appear, they separate each plant, in order to transplant them.

The women's contribution begins with transplanting the young paddy to the fields. Women do the planting because women are closely associated with the fertility of the plant. There is a belief that the female is cold handed, and can thus create an abundance of crops. Women are believed to be closely related to goddess *Lakamola*, the Rotenese deity who resembles Dewi Sri in Java. During transplanting women may share the work with others. Those who participate in the transplanting, also have to participate in the harvesting. In the transplanting all the workers are fed by the rice-field owner, but during harvesting are the workers paid with rice. The percentage of women's participation in transplanting is higher in Rote Timur than the other subdistricts (57%), followed by Rote Tengah/Ba'a (53%) and Rote Barat Daya (45%). Sharing with others is still high in Rote Barat Daya (50%), followed by Rote Timur (43%) and Rote Tengah/Ba'a (42%). No men participate in Rote Timur, since men have to concentrate in gardening, the result is many people will share in transplanting.



Sharing is high in Rote Barat Daya since there was an abundant harvest in 1992 due to the *Gora* projects. When women begin to work in transplanting the paddy, men move to other activities such as preparing the garden, repairing the fences and preparing the tools for *lontar* tapping.

Weeding, and applying fertilizer after planting are men's work. Men begin to function again by managing the water in the field, weeding and applying the fertilizer on time. The percentage of men involved in this stage is higher in Rote Tengah/Ba'a than in the other two subdistricts, since this subdistrict depends mostly on the rice fields. Sharing with others is the highest in Rote Barat Daya (15%), then followed by Rote Timur (13%) and Rote Tengah/Ba'a is the lowest (5%). This suggests that Rote Tengah /Ba'a shows more development in the cash economy than the two subdistricts. Then, when the time comes for harvest the women will come to take over the work, and their men move on to other activities.

Women are responsible for harvesting. The percentage of women in this activity is higher in Rote Timur (48%) compared with the other two subdistricts, at the same percentage (45%). Sharing with others is highest in Rote Barat Daya (55%), followed by Rote Tengah/Ba'a (53%) and in Rote Timur it is the lowest (52%). The workers have to be fed by the owners, and served from the *ndunak* (betel boxes) with areca nut, betel, tobacco, lime, *sopi* and *laru* (Rotenese beer). This is the time of celebration involving all the people engaged in harvesting. Widows and the poor are invited to partake of the charity, in the *makambimbilik*. The villagers regard the harvest-time as the best days in the year.

Before the harvest all the landowners know who should be invited to participate. Usually, every woman knows already which field she will go to harvest. Whoever helps with the transplanting, will also be invited to do the harvest. Some times boys like to help with the harvest because they are paid by the owner at the end of each day's work. This is also a change since boys are allowed to do the harvest when there is not enough women to do the harvest. The daily rate of pay is learned by word-of-mouth. The women busy themselves serving food, betel and areca nut and making each day's

payment. After the harvesting the rice is dried and winnowed to remove the chaff. Some of the grain is sold directly at the local markets. Most villagers use the traditional method of threshing by hand with a wooden flail. The number of threshers determines the size of the flails that are used, and usually this is women's work. This work is led by women of varying ages and opportunities are given to widows and landless peasants to come and glean the rice behind the harvesters. The landowners, therefore, ends up sharing the harvest with the harvesters, the owners of buffalo who ploughed the fields (*kamba ei*) and the workers. Everyone gets one third of the harvest after reducing what is used for the daily payment of the harvesters. There is no big difference between the landowner and the worker who is responsible for work in the field at the early stages. The people in the village do not belong to markedly different socio-economic classes, and thus there is little difference between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. After distribution everybody returns home with his share or sells it directly on the local market. Women have to manage the harvest in order to fulfill the family's need and to meet the next year's demand for seeds. Women try to be good home managers to ensure that their family gets enough food. The surplus is set aside to meet educational needs and to provide for future traditional needs such as bridewealth payments.

Storing and distributing the produce after harvesting is the women's responsibility. Women have to make sure that all people who participated in the rice field are paid, and that the widows and poor also get their share. The participation of women in storing and distributing is consistent, though slightly higher in Rote Timur (60%) than in Rote Tengah/Ba'a (57%), and in Rote Barat Daya (55%). Men also help women to dry the paddy, and to carry the harvest to the house, and store it in big baskets, *soka* made of lontar leaves. The *soka* is stored near the women's space in the inner house. The participation of men in transporting and preparing the rice for storage is also fairly consistent, albeit higher in Rote Barat Daya (35%), than in Rote Tengah/Ba'a (32%), and in Rote Timur (28%). Thus, the women's burdens are balanced by the participation of other people, either as mutual self help (*gotong royong*), by the villagers or by other family members.



Marketing is done by both women and men. The participation of men in marketing is higher in Rote Timur (56%), than in Rote Tengah/Ba'a (43%) and in Rote Barat Daya is the lowest (30%). Where transportation is difficult, such as in Rote Timur, men do the marketing. Many men in Rote Timur are also involved in fishing and thus the subdistrict is not completely dependent on agriculture. Nevertheless, Rote has now become one of the rice granaries for the city of Kupang. Once a day a ferry comes to Rote from Kupang at 9.00 a.m. and returns at 4.00 p.m. Since the price of rice in Rote is lower than in Kupang retailers can easily transport the rice to Kupang and sell it at a good profit. The retailers come to Rote not only to purchase rice, but to buy sugar juice or solid sugar. Men usually are responsible for distant markets and women for the local market. There are many rice hulling mills in Rote, thus reducing the demand on women to pound rice by hand. If women want to save money however, they still pound rice in the traditional way.

## 2.2 Gardening (Shifting Cultivation)<sup>1</sup>

A garden is important for the survival of the Rotenese, since most of the crops do not need much water and can grow on poor land. Gardens also contain many kinds of crops, which mature at different times during the year. Before the rainy season people clean the gardens before starting to cultivate again. Sometimes the garden is left unused for one or two years to allow the land to rest and gain more humus. Formerly they would move to vacant land to begin a new garden, but since the population has increased this has become more difficult. The implementation of Indonesia Land Law also encourages people to remain on their land and try to use fertilizer, or rotate crops on their own plots. From the garden a woman can take vegetables and together with *lontar* juice and sea-weed, she could feed her family without worrying about lack of food during the dry season. Garden plots are usually small and the Rotenese are skilled at economizing on space. According to local lore Rotenese are able to cultivate the eight seeds given to them by the goddess *Lakamola* with the exception of rice. Usually they plant the seeds at the beginning of the rainy season. Maize, pumpkin, black-eyed beans or broad beans could be put in one hole. The black bean and the broad bean stalks

grow and twist along the maize stalks, while the pumpkins grow on the ground next to the maize. Usually people harvest the corn first, while the beans are still supported by on the old maize stalks for several weeks until they are good enough for harvest. The other crops such as peas, millet, sorghum and sesame can also be cultivated in the same garden or around the house yard. The crops cannot be harvested at the same time. The crop that remains longest in the fields is sorghum. The '*mbule sio*' (nine seeds) and the '*tua nasu*' (palm sugar) enable the Rotenese to survive and not experience famine like the people of NTT, who depend on tuber plants (e.g. Timor and Sumba). From the garden women can collect the maize, vegetables, beans, peas, pumpkins, millet, broad beans before the rice is harvested, or during the long dry season when there is not enough rain for rice cultivation. The participation of men in gardening in Rote Tengah is 58%, in Rote Timur it is 56% and Rote Barat Daya it is 43%. The figure for Rote Barat Daya is slightly lower because men pursue other occupation such as lontar tapping because they have good quality of sugar. The participation of women is also high. In Rote Barat Daya it is 34%, and in Rote Timur it is 25% but Rote Tengah/Ba'a it is slightly lower at 23%. Gardening is more important for Rote Timur than the two subdistricts. A full investigation of traditional agricultural knowledge lies beyond the scope of this thesis, though it indicates potential future needs of research in Rote.

Preparation of the garden is men's work. In Rote Timur the participation of men is the highest (95%) as compared to the other two subdistricts. Rote Timur is more dependent on garden produce than is, for example, Rote Barat Daya (90%) which is more arid. Rote Tengah/Ba'a is the lowest (85%) because there is sufficient good land for wet rice cultivation. Men fell the trees when needed, and then clean and burn them to make fertilizer. They dig the land, and build and repair fences, while waiting for rain fall. The first rain usually arrives in November. Men prepare the land concurrently with the tapping of the juice. When they have finished tapping, they focus their activities on the garden or rice fields again. They know exactly which crop should be the first, and which should be the last to be planted. Gardening is mostly the work of a family, a man and his wife and his household members.



Men and women often work together when planting seeds. When the women need holes, the man goes in front with a stick, and makes the hole, while the women follow with the seed, and put the seed into the holes. More women participate in the planting in Rote Timur (59%), followed by Rote Tengah/Ba'a (55%) and then Rote Barat Daya (45%). The participation of men in Rote Barat Daya is the highest (35%), Rote Tengah/Ba'a (30%), and the lowest is in Rote Timur (17%), because men are away to participate in marketing. Sharing by other people is the highest in Rote Timur (24%), then in Rote Barat Daya (20%), and the lowest is in Rote Tengah/Ba'a (15%). What is significant are the slight variations in levels of participation across the subdistricts. The cultural values remain the same, but local economic and environmental factors extend a subtle influence.

Weeding in the garden is men's responsibility. If they have a small garden, the whole family, husband, wife, their children and the other household members do the weeding together. The weeding has to be done on time or quite early. To ensure that this is done, communal work is organized between the villagers. The owner of the garden prepares the food, rice and meat, betel boxes with betel, areca nut and tobacco; then he invites all the villagers to work for him. In this way they can weed faster, then move on to another person's garden. Shared work is more common in Rote Barat Daya (50%), than in Rote Tengah/Ba'a with 23%; in Rote Timur it is only 9%. This is because the people prefer to do the work themselves rather than prepare food for sharing with others. Since the men also have the responsibility for weeding their participation is higher than women. In Rote Timur men's participation is 90%, in Rote Tengah/Ba'a it is 75 % and in Rote Barat Daya it is 45%. The participation of women in weeding is low. In Rote Timur only 1%, in Rote Tengah/Ba'a 2% and in Rote Barat Daya it is 5%. Since Rote Timur is most dependent on the gardens, the participation of men is higher both in the preparation and also the weeding.

Harvesting of the garden is done by both men and women on an equal basis. Only maize, millet, beans, peas can be harvested all at once for storing, whereas the other crops will be harvested when they are needed. In Rote Barat Daya the

participation rate for both men and women is 35%. In Rote Timur the participation of women is higher (47%) than that of men (12%). The sharing of work by others is the highest in Rote Timur (39%), followed by Rote Barat Daya (30%) and in Rote Tengah/Ba'a it is 28 %. Work in the garden usually defines the status of a man. He is considered mature enough for marriage once he has a garden of his own. Sometimes people let all the harvest remain in the garden until the end of the dry season. It is perfectly safe, no one will steal the produce; a very different situation to the city.

The storage and distribution of crops are women's responsibilities. Maize is sometimes stored on trees near the house when it stops raining to allow the maize to dry in the sun, while being outside the reach of mice. The villagers believe that mice can not climb the trees to eat the maize. At harvest time, along the way from Ba'a to Rote Barat Daya, especially on the way to Nemberalla, there are many trees covered with maize, which looks like white spring flowers on the trees. After the harvest the women take responsibility for managing the crops, especially while waiting for crops, such as rice, which take longer to mature. The participation of women in distribution is higher than that of men. In Rote Timur it is 75%, in Rote Barat Daya it is 65% and in Rote Tengah/ Ba'a it is 53%. The participation of men in Rote Tengah/Ba'a is 42%, and in Rote Barat Daya is 25% whereas in Rote Timur it is only 15%. The participation of others is low. In Rote Barat Daya and Rote Timur it is 10%, and in Rote Tengah/Ba'a it is only 5%. Marketing is done by both men and women. Men's participation is higher in Rote Timur 65% than in Rote Tengah/Ba'a (53% ) and in Rote Barat Daya (30%). Only in Rote Barat Daya is the women's participation is higher than that of men (45%). In Rote Timur the participation of women in marketing is the lowest (15%) among the subdistricts, since only men can go to sell in Kupang market.

The early crops help people to survive during the rice cultivation period, when there is no *lontar* juice tapping. These crops are also used to make many kinds of snacks such as sesame seed with peanut and sugar, millet porridge with sugar and coconut milk, coconut with sugar cakes, or popcorn. In contrast, they do not need to keep the crops which mature quickly, since they also have the rice. The Rotenese make



many kinds of cakes and sell them to the passengers at the harbour or the rice field, while the people are harvesting.

### 2.3. Multi-Crop Gardening (*Mamak*)

The participation of men in multi-crop gardening (*mamak*)<sup>2</sup> is higher than that of women. The highest percentage of male participation is in Rote Timur at 94%; in Rote Tengah it is 90% and in Rote Barat Daya it is 85%. In Timor and Rote the multi-crop garden is an important garden, located near a spring where many plants will be grown together. Plants used for social reasons (e.g. areca, betel) are grown in multi-crop gardens, as well as coconut, banana and breadfruit. Only from the multi-crop gardens people can take betel and areca nut for social functions. In Naulu on Seram, there are multi-crop gardens in which up to 15 different species may be grown together including sugar-cane, manioc, coconut, taro, yams, banana and sago (Bellwood 1985:239). This resembles the situation in Rote. The multi-crop gardens can be inherited or used as gifts in bridewealth or as part of the dowry that accompanies a girl when she marries. Fast maturing crops such as bananas, tuber plants such as cassava and manioc and a half-wild sweet potato are grown, as well as crops taking a longer time to mature (e.g. coconut, betel, areca nut, breadfruit, mango).

Coconut is an important cash crop through out NTT. From the coconut they can make coconut oil, for sale in the local market. Many villages in eastern Indonesia and NTT are very dependant on coconut oil as cooking oil. Coconut oil production has become a home industry carried on by women, the by-product being used as pig food. Coconut is also used to get cash for the children's education, as is shown by Gerson Poyk, the Indonesian journalist and writer from Rote. In his novel on Rotenese women called *Sepasang Mata Ibu* ('A Pair of Mother's Eyes') Gerson Poyk describes a woman sitting with her children in the moonlight. While the woman is scraping the coconut she tells a story to her children about an old woman on the moon, who is always spinning, with a dog sitting beside her. The image of a woman on the moon is, like herself, always spinning in her spare time, and the dog is a domestic animal which watches her when she is outside her house (Poyk 1985). The image of spinning and the moon is a

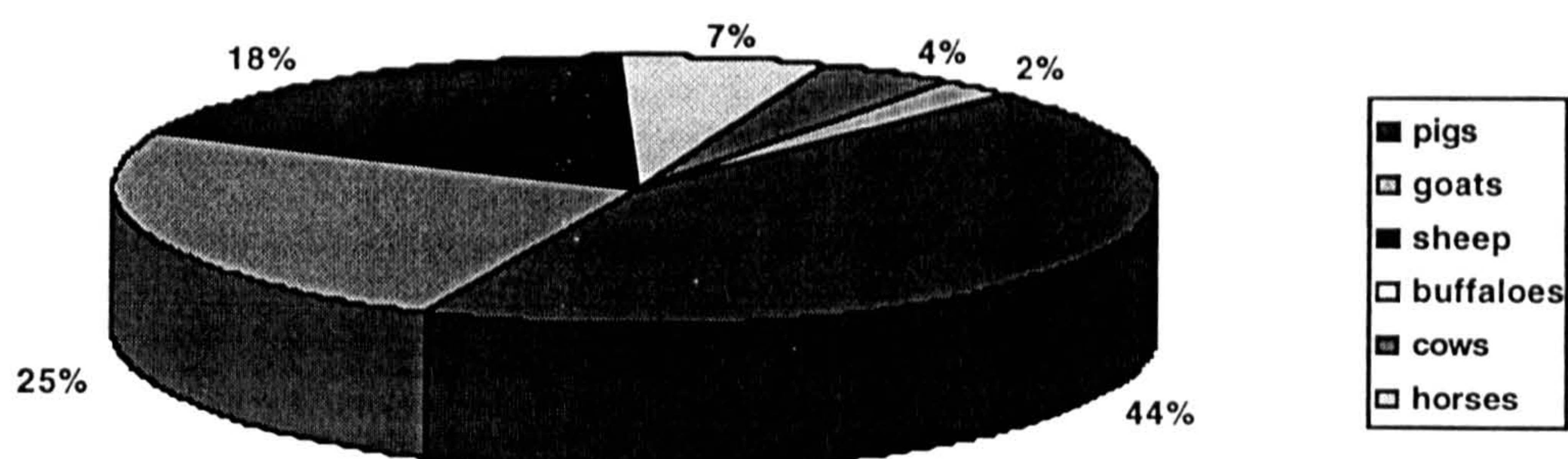
recurring theme in the ethnographic literature on Indonesia<sup>3</sup>. Spinning is an important work of women in their spare time, especially in the period of the full moon. The relationship between moon, spinning and weaving has been described by Eliade as: "Weaving is a symbol of time and destiny, both of which are particularly associated with women; 'moon spins Time, and weaves human lives'" (Niessen 1985:76).

#### 2.4. Animal Husbandry

According to dry land usage (Table 7) more space is devoted to animal husbandry, at 21,156 ha or 51%, than any other purpose. In the 51% of the area devoted to herding, the terrain comprises grass field with rocks and small number of trees scattered everywhere. The land is suitable for goats and sheep, buffaloes, cows and horses. The participation of men and women in animal husbandry is almost the same as in the agricultural sectors. In Rote Timur, men are at 47% and women at 38%. In Rote Tengah/ Ba'a, men are at 43% and women at 34%. In Rote Barat Daya men are at 37% and women at 35%. The participation of other people in Rote Barat Daya is 28%, in Rote Tengah/Ba'a at 20% and Rote Timur at 15%. The work of looking after livestock is shared out among the family members, though boys are primary responsible for seeing that the animals get sufficient food and water. Until the 20th century there were still many fights between the owners of the animals and thieves. The problem already existed before the Dutch colonial period, however, the Dutch recorded it, and tried to solve it. The problem of animal theft is rooted in the traditional ritual for asking for rain. At the ritual period many young men of the *leo* of *manasongo* (Thie) go around the *nusak* to steal an animal for sacrifice. This was part of the ritual and considered legitimate behaviour. In the 1970s many such thefts took place in east Rote. The authorities considered the thieves acted like rustlers in Texas who stole animals from the pastures. Though the government disapproved, they did not know how to solve this problem.



**Figure 6. The Composition of livestock holdings in Rote 1991**



#### **2.4.1. Goats and Sheep**

These animals are associated with men and therefore only men take care of them. The participation of men in breeding these animals is highest in Rote Timur (73%), since this subdistrict has a large area suitable for goats and sheep. In Rote Tengah/Ba'a the participation rate is 58% and in Rote Barat Daya it is 48%.

Both animals need grazing for breeding. Many young Rotenese boys gain experience in herding goats and sheep because they follow them around in the search for fodder. These animals can survive in the dry fields among the rocks during the dry season, whereas other animals cannot. In places unsuitable for agriculture where only small number of palms and other trees are found, these goats and sheep are able to survive. Fox called this area 'the land for goats and sheep' (1977:43).

At night the goats and sheep are brought to the stable near the house, and are sometimes penned under the floor of a traditional house. The animals' droppings can be used for fertilizer. Goats also can produce milk for domestic use. The proportion of goats and sheep in Rote in relation to the population is probably higher than in Timor.

#### **2.4.2. Other Animals**

Buffaloes are also associated with men and the male participation rate is as follows: Rote Timur is 80%; in Rote Tengah/Ba'a it is 75% and in Rote Barat Daya it is 58%. The buffalo is a prestigious animal, and is closely related to the rice-field. Pigs,



goats, sheep, horses, cows and buffaloes are used to pay bridewealth, but the highest price is paid with a buffalo. Women do 80% of pig-rearing, and pigs are closely linked with the prosperity of the inner house. The number of goats, sheep, buffaloes, cows and horses has increased of recent years but not as much as the number of pigs. This is due to the physical environment of Rote which cannot support the rearing of big animals. Buffaloes, horses and cows need larger grass fields, and the buffaloes especially, need water and mud or a buffalo pond for wallowing. It also is easier to get cash from small animals, especially pigs and chickens. Pigs can be fed with *lontar* juice, ripe *lontar* fruits, rice husks and corn, and during the rainy season they can forage for vegetables, easing the women's burden.

The owner of these animals can command riches or have a high status in the society. Sometimes these animals are kept in a pen near the house. The buffalo, is important in agriculture, especially for wet rice cultivation, and for producing milk. The horse is also important because it carries people and burdens from one place to another. The horse, however, is being replaced by the motor cycle, buses, cars, etc. The buffaloes' owner, gets one third of the rice harvest, as the payment of buffalo's feet (*kamba ein*), when farmers use the buffaloes in the ploughing. Beside paying the bride wealth, buffaloes can be used in paying a traditional fine. In 1977, when Fox did his research in Rote, he made a correlation analysis between these animals and the land as the basic support. According to Fox, Nusak Thie (Rote Barat Daya) and Nusak Dengka (Rote Barat Laut) are the areas with the highest number of pigs and a dense population. Fox however, did not trust the estimated number of chickens. According to the data for 1991, the number of chickens is high. For a cash economy chicken production is gender blind, rearing is done by men and women, but for domestic use only women have the responsibility for rearing chickens (see Table 21). Chickens are very important for domestic use. The number of chickens is higher than the number of other livestock in Rote. Pig, chicken, and duck production is part of women's responsibility. Table 21 shows that the number of chickens in subdistricts Rote Barat Daya is higher than any other subdistricts in Rote.



## 2.5. *Lontar* Palm Tapping

Tapping *lontar* juice is a totally male occupation. But for palm sugar processing, both men and women are involved. In the three subdistricts women's participation is higher than that of men. The participation of men is higher in Rote Timur (44%) than the other subdistricts; in Rote Barat Daya it is 33% and in Rote Tengah/Ba'a it is 26%.

Men tap twice a day: early in the morning, and in the afternoon. They have the skill to climb the trees. *Lontar* juice is obtained from the spadices of the palm found high in both female and male trees, in the axil of the leaves. The slow-growing *lontar* (*Borassus flabellifer*) only begins to blossom in about its twentieth year.

Climate and other environmental factors in addition to its care, consisting of regularly removing the leaves, appear to influence the age at which the tree first flowers. The Rotenese in Timor maintain that once a palm produces juice it can remain productive for seventy to a hundred years, a figure confirming the data compiled by Gebuis and Kadir on Madura (Gebuis and Kadir 1928-1929:304-321).

The sugar content of the juice is highest in the dry season. Rotenese show great agility in tree climbing, and skill in preparation of the buds and in pruning the inflorescence (see Ormeling 1956:154). All Rotenese realizes that *lontar* tapping is an important but a heavy and risky job. Thus, in the tapping period, the women serve the men very well. When they have a party, they allow men to eat first, because they need to go back and rest early. Early in the morning, before sunrise, the men are already found singing at the tops of the palm trees. A man can tap between 25-30 trees a day, which means twice a day he has to climb 25-30 trees. Men also prepare the buckets (*haik*) for the *lontar* juice, with different sizes, for example, for drinking, for carrying the juice, and for catching the juice on the trees. In front of a Rotenese house there is a sharpening-stone, to remind the men to sharpen their knives before going out, especially when they want to tap the juice. They have to sharpen special knives for cutting the *lontar* buds, to make the juice flow, and catch it in a small bucket. They have to use new or clean buckets, otherwise the juice will be sour and not sweet to drink. Those are the jobs done by men in the *lontar* sugar processing. The rest is carried out by women. Women collect the *lontar* juice, take it to the house, distil it and

store it. When the sugar is more than they can consume, men and women market the surplus together.

## **2.6. Fishing**

The participation of men (75%) in fishing is highest in Rote Timur. Women do not go fishing, though sea fishing is one of the important economic activities for small islands like Rote and Savu. Most fishermen who depend mainly on the sea come from Rote Timur, especially the village of Daiama. There are many widows in this village whose husbands have died in sea accidents. In the past many fishermen left Rote during the dry season. They caught fish, squids, crabs, shrimps and snails near the island called Pulau Pasir. They dried the catch and men shipped it to south Sulawesi where it could be sold at a good price. Later, they were prevented from going to Pulau Pasir, because this island was owned by Australia. Many of them were caught by the Australian Government which detained them in Australia for several days, destroyed their ships and sent them back to Rote. These fishermen had no knowledge of the International Law which bound them not to come to the other country's island without permission. They found it difficult to understand that the island, which they had always visited, had suddenly become out of bounds to them. They did not fully understand the problem. That is the reason why the Rotenese ships are frequently caught, destroyed and the fishermen sent back to Rote via the Social Department of the Indonesian Government. The development implications of underemployed fishermen do not appear to be fully understood by the Australian and Indonesian authorities.

In 1980, Vonny Heidelberg from Perth, Australia came to visit east Rote. She stayed in the fishermen's village for several months in order to study how to help these fishermen, and attempted to solve their problems, so that they did not break the International Law especially between Australia and Indonesia. She raised money in Perth, and started to help the fishermen's families in collaboration with Mrs. Mia Fernandez the governor's wife and chairperson of PKK in NTT. To improve economic conditions, the PKK taught them new skills such as how to make good dried fish with their surplus catch which was difficult to market. Before, when they made a surplus, if



they couldn't sell it fresh, it rotted and they just threw it away.

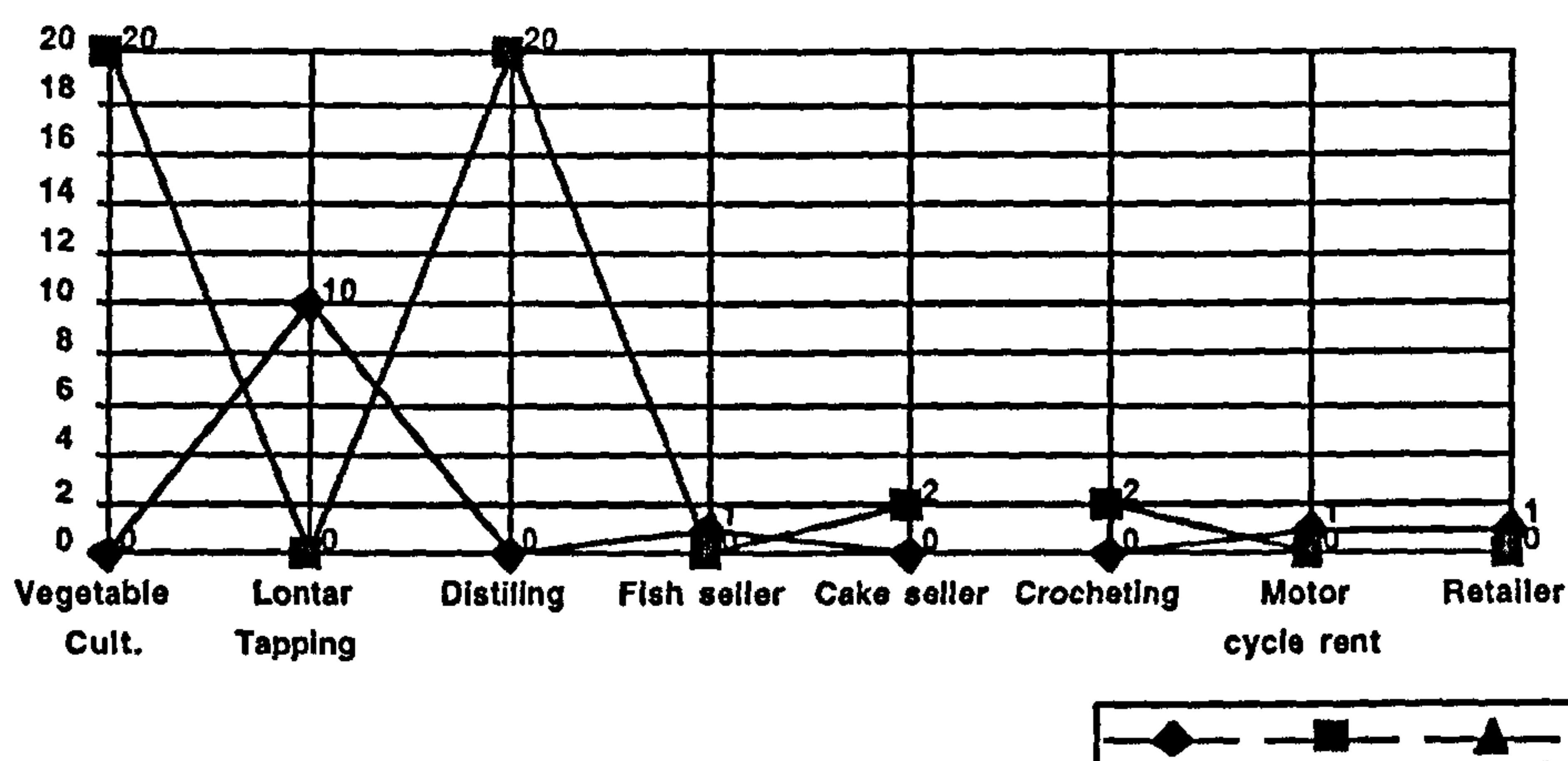
In 1991, there was an accident in Pulau Pasir, which caused 25 men to lose their lives. Their widows still live in Daiama village. They make their living by collecting fuel-wood and bringing it by ship across the small bay, and selling it to Pepela four times a week during the dry season. Each time they get Rp.3,000 to Rp.4,000 (£1.50), thus in one month they get Rp.48,000 to Rp.64,000 (£16 to £21). In one year a women can earn at least  $6 \times \text{Rp.64,000} = \text{Rp.384,000}$  (£128). It is only a small amount of money, but it is one of the few ways for them to get some cash for living. They can survive with this kind of work, beside the sugar palm, and work in the rice fields or gardens helping out in planting, weeding and harvesting. These women have a good quality of life compared to other parts of the village in Rote Timur. They have permanent or semi-permanent houses.

Collecting seaweed, snails and small fish along the coast is called '*makan meting*' (ebb tideline foraging). All of the women in coastal villages engage in this time-consuming but relatively low yielding production of ebb tide foraging. Another women's activity is sea grass gathering from the sea. Twice a month the sea ebbs about 400 metres to reveal the lowest tide. This work is mostly done by women, usually elderly women during the daytime, but some men are involved when the ebb happens during the night. During the night, one can see people going to the sea, and the whole coast is lit by their torches, so that it looks like the electric lights of a big city. Seaweed is an important vegetable for the Rotenese. Most of the seafoods are eaten raw with a kind of salad dressing made from lontar juice vinegar, called '*cuka tuak*'.

In most parts of Rote there are people who make a living from fishing. The data show that in Rote Barat Daya and Rote Tengah/Ba'a, the men's work averages 80%, while in Rote Timur it is 90%, because the physical environment in Rote Timur is harder than in the other three areas. Where the physical environment is harsh, then men mostly take over the work. Catching, drying and marketing fish is done by men in Rote Timur. They return home just in the time for *lontar* tapping and preparing the fields and gardens for the next rainy season. The fishermen work only around six to seven

months during the dry season. While they are away, most of the light work at home is done by women. The market in Rote Timur is far from these villages, and the road is worse than in the other subdistricts, so that most of the marketing is done by men, but when the men come home all the money is given to the women for management. Figure 7 shows the division of gender roles in a village in Rote Barat Daya both in the inner and outer house.

**Figure 7. Gender Additional Work in LalukoEn (Rote Barat Daya)**



From 61 respondents, there are 44 jobs done by women and 17 by men. What women do is classified as the inner house work and the work that men do is as outer house. The data shows that men and women create work which is related to their interests and which complement one another in the household. Figure 7 shows that 20 women do 44 jobs, representing an average of 2.2, whereas 10 men do 17 jobs at an average of 1.7.

### 3. Summary and Conclusion

The *uma dalek* is the women's responsibility and therefore they tend to spend more time in their work whereas the men devote more time to the outer house. From the 13 activities in the *uma deak*, there are 4 activities namely weaving, vegetable cultivation, pig and chicken rearing which actually are women's tasks, but when these become cash economic activities men also are involved.



The outer house (*uma deak*) activities or economic activities such as rice cultivation, gardening, multi-crop gardening, cattle breeding and fishing show that men's percentage of participation is higher than that of women. Marketing in the local market is dominated by women where transportation is easy, but when the market is far away usually men take over the marketing. This complementary system should be taken into account for planning development in Rote. From Rote Timur, a picture was drawn about how the gender role in the outer house operated. Even in the poorest conditions people still share their work, especially in those jobs that can give them a chance to get involved in cash economic activities such as vegetable cultivation and *lontar* tapping. Red onions and sugar are sent to Kupang market by traditional boats. Not many changes have happened here during the 25 years since national development plans have been launched.

Several tasks are still kept by women as their traditional work activities, but some women and men have turned them into cash economic activities (e.g weaving in Namodale Ba'a, salt processing in Feopopi Rote Tengah, vegetable cultivation and sugar palm production in Rote Timur, fire-wood collection in Daiama Rote Timur).

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Gardens as slash-burn cultivation, and wet-rice agriculture are the two major agricultural adaptations to Indonesian soils, surface and climate (Wolfgang Marshall 1984:85-86).

<sup>2</sup>*mamak* means to chew betel and areca. Usually people cultivate betel and areca in a multi-crop garden, which they called *mamak*. In Timor *mamak* is called *mamar*.

<sup>3</sup>In the Toba Batak story of moon and spinning as described by Tobing (1956): 'Deak Parujar who refused to marry so she escapes to the underworld on the yarn she has been spinning. There she creates the earth with the help of her father, the High God. When her task is completed, she retires to the moon to spin' (Niessen 1984:69). The story of a woman spinning in the moon is a story a Rotenese woman tells to her children when she is working at night, while pointing to the full moon.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ON ROTE

#### 1. Introduction

The Indonesian conception of development is broad-ranging and is associated with any activity designed to improve the lives of its citizens. The Indonesian use terms such as *pembangunan* (to build, to erect) and *perkembangan* (to blossom) to cover the multivarious activities associated with development. Since the introduction of a five-year cycle of planning in 1969 development objectives have been laid out in a series of plans known as *Rencana Pembangunan Lima tahun (Repelita)*. This chapter is principally concerned with the first five-year national development plan from 1969-1994 (Repelita I-V).<sup>1</sup> This chapter pays particular attention to the changes in the rural social economy including tourism, and the effect on gender relations especially in 1990-1993.

The data available regarding agriculture is not comprehensive, and therefore it is not possible to discuss beans because of the lack of statistical data. This discussion is mainly focused on rice, maize, cassava, sweet potato and groundnuts. Although all the traditional *mbule sio* (nine seeds introduced by the goddess of fertility of Rote) are still being cultivated by people all over the island, only rice and maize are being developed to any extent. Sorghum, millet, pumpkins, black beans, and sesame seed are also important crops in Rote and occupy a significant place in the diet of the Rotenese, but full details regarding their cultivation are not yet available. It is also difficult to find data on the production of sugar juice, crystal and brown sugar which are used in great quantities for domestic consumption and cash generation. Almost all Rotenese households keep sugar juice as a substitute for staple foods, such as rice. The problem faced by the local authorities is how to boost production in a highly diverse agricultural economy. The late Professor Herman Johannes (of Rotenese Origin), a former Rector of Gajah Mada University in Jogjakarta, offered a proposal on how to make lontar trees shorter so people could tap the juice as they pick apples from trees. The Indonesians<sup>2</sup> are well aware of the use of genetic research in making fruit trees easier to harvest, but lack



the appropriate scientific skills to put their ideas into practice. The lontar tree can feed people during the long dry season in the eastern islands of Rote and Savu and thus help reduce poverty. The *lontar* industry has been described by Ir. Kondrad Purba, the head of the Industry Department of NTT, and this discussion is based on his data. Purba argued that in NTT there are about 4 million trees, of which one million can be tapped. The *lontar* juice can be turned into brown and crystal sugar. The production potential of crystal sugar is approximately 1,920 kgs per tree per year or a total annual production of 1,920,000 kg. If one kg can be sold in the local market for Rp7,000 (£2), it means that 1,920,000 kg will produce £3,840,000. Labour absorbs between 50,000 and 100,000 people, involving both men and women, since the former climb the trees and the later distil the juice. The main development obstacle is that lontar tapping is regarded as a low-skilled and potentially dangerous activity, and as people become more educated they are increasingly disinclined to work in this sector (Purba 1991:151).

A skilled *lontar* tapper takes 15 to 20 minutes to climb and tap a tree, and a tapper can cope with 20 to 30 trees per day. The production of *lontar* juice can only be increased by reducing the length of time for climbing and tapping. In comparison with many other food-gathering activities, *lontar* tapping requires a relatively a high level of skill and more elaborate equipment. The Rotenese show great agility in tree climbing, and skill in preparation of the buds and in pruning the inflorescence (Ormeling 1956:154). It is a primarily a subsistence activity, with the produce being consumed locally, though plans to market lontar products further afield are being considered. *Lontar* production still needs to be developed in ways to process and to present the production in a more attractive and healthy manner, possibly as soft drinks and confectionery for tourists.

## 2. Agricultural Development

### 2.1 Rice

Dry and wet-rice cultivation is practiced in Rote. In 1991 rice production, was increased by using the dry seed-bed preparation system and *gogo rencah* or *gora*. These

techniques are suitable for implementation in areas which lack rain and have an unreliable rainy season. Both techniques are successful in Rote Barat Daya and Rote Barat Laut. According to Ir. Chris Pellokila, the head of Agriculture Department in NTT, *gogo rencah* and dry seed-bed techniques are currently being evaluated by AARD in NTT. He further explains that under the *gogo rencah* system the farmer plants at the beginning of the wet season; the land is prepared in advance and it often requires a lot of energy to till the soil. If large 65 hp tractors are not available, crowbars are used, and farmers can take over 200 man-days to prepare one hectare. The seeds are drilled at the start of the wet season before weeds dominate the field. Water stress is common during the early growing period, though the probability of stress at the start is significantly reduced. More seeds are sewn than will germinate to compensate for reduced tillage.

In the dry seed-bed preparation system farmers raise the seedlings in areas that are near reliable water supplies and by the time the seedling are ready for transplanting the soil is sufficiently wet to facilitate cultivation. Labour inputs for land preparation are significantly reduced, and the crop is harvested a month earlier than in the traditional system with significantly higher yields (Nusa Tenggara Agriculture Support Project 1988 and Pellokila 1991:137). These techniques were first implemented by the farmers near Kupang in 1987, an area of wet ricefields owner by some Rotenese, and the farmers' income was significantly increased in 1988-1989.

The following table shows the number of areas of rice production, and rice production in 1990 and 1991, in order to see the improvement of agriculture in 1991.

**Table 11. The Area of Rice-fields in Rote 1990-1991**

Subdistrict	The Area of Dry-field (ha)		The Area of Sawah (ha)	
	1990	1991	1990	1991
Rote Barat Daya	----	10	371	498
Rote Barat Laut	790	868	90	1269
Lobalain	237	--	976	1647
Rote Tengah	697	--	513	1081
Pantai Baru	10	218	815	609
Rote Timur	----		777	543.
Total	1734	1096	3542	5647

Source : Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.



**Table 12. The Area of Gardens 1990 and 1991**

Subdistrict	Production/ha/kw		Production/ton	
	1990	1991	1990	1991
Rote Barat Daya	-----	13.00	-----	13
Rote Barat Laut	16.39	15.69	1,295	1,362
Lobalain	19.17	----	454	--
Rote Tengah	15.00	----	1,052	---
Pantai Baru	18.48	14.91	18	325
Rote Timur	-----	----	-----	---
Total	69.04	43.6	2,819	1,700

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Table 12 and 13 show that the production of dry rice (*padi ladang*) in 1991 decreased in area of cultivation by 638 ha, in production at 25,44/ha/kw and in tonnage by 1,119 ton or 38 per cent from the year before. This decrease was caused by the lack of rain in 1991. Wet rice cultivation shows an increase in 1991, both in the area of cultivation and in the production per ton. The data of wet rice production in 1990 and 1991 can be seen in table 13.

**Table 13. Wet-rice (Sawah) Production**

Subdistrict	Production/ha/kw		Production per ton		
	1990	1991	1990	1991	+,-
Rote Barat Daya	24.85	26.93	922	1,341	+419
Rote Barat Laut	21.52	27.38	194	3,475	+3,281
Lobalain	26.49	20.52	2,585	3,380	+795
Rote Tengah	19.42	28.27	996	3,111	+2,115
Pantai Baru	24.09	x	1,963	1,883	- 80
Rote Timur	20.32	25.47	1,579	1,383	-196
Total	136,69	159,49	8,239	14,573	+6,334

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Table 12 and 13 show the increase of the area of cultivation by 2,105 ha, the production/ha/kw by 22.8 and the production/ton by 6,334 ton or 77 per cent in 1991. The highest increase of wet rice in 1991, is in subdistrict Rote Barat Laut at 3,281 ton or 94 per cent and followed by Rote Barat Daya by 419 ton or 45 per cent. These two subdistricts have increased their yields through the implementation of the new techniques discussed above. The government wants to extend this technique to other parts of Rote such as Rote Timur and Pantai Baru. Other crops such as millet, sesame

seed, sorghum and maize can also be cultivated by introducing new methods of cultivation. Since there is little rain, these crops are suitable for these areas. Leadership is important since farmers often wait until advised to go ahead by government officials or informal local leaders.

The area of paddy-land in Rote is about 6,386 ha, of which 1,755 ha (27%) are not cultivated because of a combination of poor rainfall and lack of agricultural expertise. Rote Timur, which is classified by Bappeda as the poor subdistrict, has 575 ha (46%) uncultivated *sawah* areas in 1991 (Bappeda:1992). All *sawah* in Rote Timur are cultivated by traditional methods, with 610 ha (49%) as '*sawah sederhana non PU*' or simple non-project, 62 ha (5%) as rainfed *sawah* and 575 ha (46%) as uncultivated *sawah*.

There are ample water resources in Lobalain and Rote Tengah, and this facilitates the use of an irrigation system, known as *sawah setengah teknis* (half irrigation system), in 352 ha roughly 6% of the total agricultural land. The same techniques are used in Rote Barat Daya 44ha (1%), Lobalain 210 ha (3%) and Rote Tengah 98 ha (2%). The other technology is called *sederhana P.U* (simple P.U system) which is named after the Department of *Pekerjaan Umum* (P.U. or Public Works). It involves building rice beds for 1594 ha (25 %) and is used in five subdistricts with the exception of Rote Timur. Most of the wet rice-fields in Rote do not use full irrigation technology. Better use of available water resources would help the poorer villages to boost rice production. According to Michael Wainright's recommendation in 1972, most of the water resources are not being used as efficiently as might be (Wainright 1972:7). Rain water can be stored with dams and used for the cultivation of maize and sorghum; the latter is known as *jagung Rote* in NTT. These two crops are suitable for this kind of land and climate.

The area for cattle breeding is 21,156 ha (17%), and the uncultivated area is 14,121 (11%). This provides an area for development whether for cattle breeding or other projects such as food crops or tree crops. Tourists are also a market for locally produced foodstuffs (see Table 7).



2.2 Maize

Besides rice, the other staple crop is maize, which is very important in Nusa Tenggara.

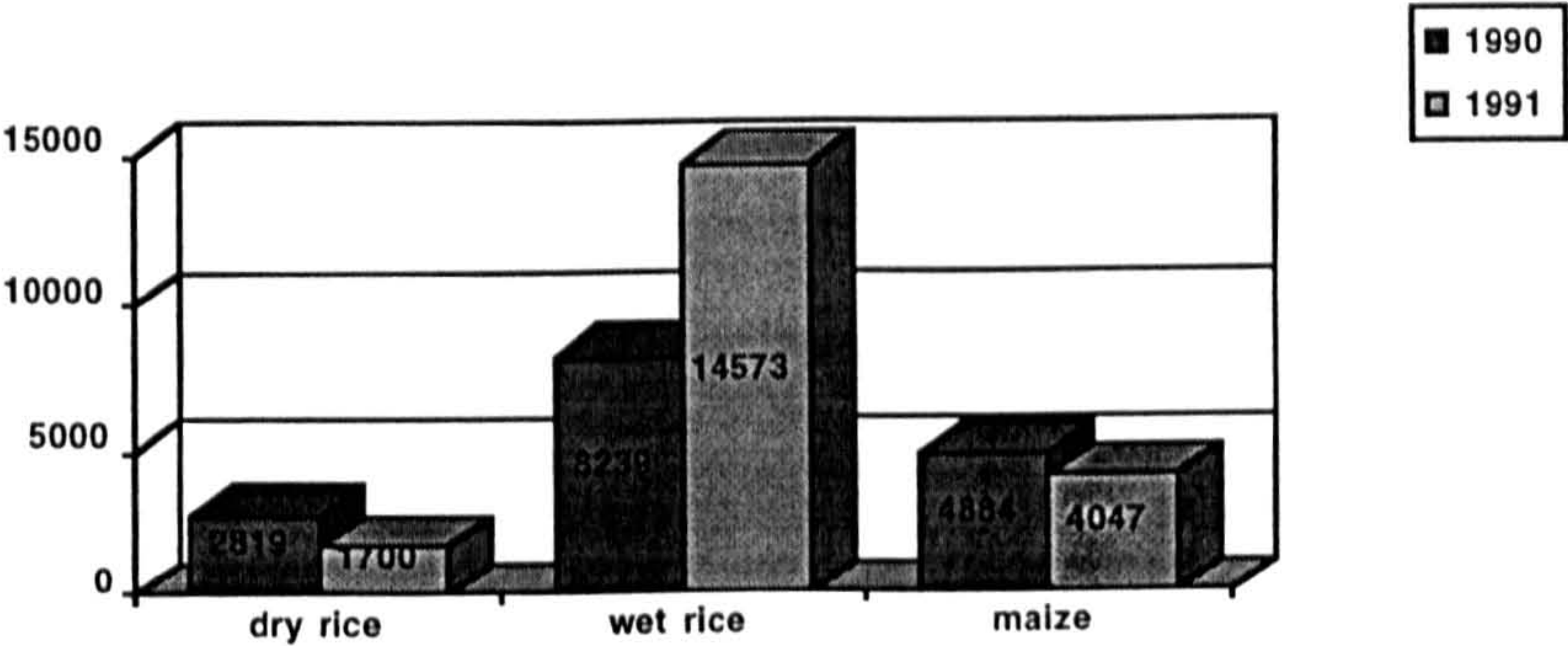
Table 14. Maize Production in 1991

Subdistrict	The Area of Production		Production/ha		Production/ton/ton		
	1990	1991	1990	1991	1990	1991	+ --
Rote Barat Daya	139	174	17.63	17.99	245	313	68
Rote Barat Laut	325	250	20.37	20.80	662	520	142
Lobalain	293	343	19.52	10.35	572	355	217
Rote Tengah	520	383	18.38	18.43	956	706	250
Pantai Baru	410	320	23.05	19.12	945	612	333
Rote Timur	811	879	18.55	17.58	1504	1541	37
Total	2,498	2,349			4,884	4,047	-837

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Figure 8 shows the production of wet rice, dry rice and maize in 1990 and 1991. Wet rice production increased during this period, whereas dry rice and maize decreased. The reason is that most of the projects for agricultural development are focused on wet rice, since most of the experts in agriculture are graduated from faculties in Java which are more concerned with wet rice agriculture. Javanese-trained experts often lack an in-depth appreciation of the environmental constraints on agriculture in eastern Indonesia.

Figure 8. Production of Dry-Rice, Wet-Rice and Maize in 1990 and 1991



Eastern Indonesia does not have the same ecology as Java, so wet rice production projects could only be implemented in those areas which have wet rice fields such as West Flores, West Sumba, some parts of Timor and Rote. The area for rice production



was increased in 1991 by 2,105 ha, and was followed by an increase in rice production by 77 per cent (6,334 ton). The increase in rice production is greatest in Rote Barat Laut and Rote Barat Daya, since they implemented the new method of cultivation known as *gogo rencah* and dry seed-bed preparation, as I have mentioned before. These techniques force people to prepare the soil and seed-beds before the rain, so that when the first rains come, the plants can grow easily can be harvested earlier. Table 14 shows that the area used for maize production in 1991 has decreased by 149 ha, and production has also decreased to 837 tons from the year 1990. Only Rote Timur has tried to increase the area for maize production by 68 ha, representing an increase of 37 tons in 1991. Included in the sample is one of the poorest villages, where the people have tried very hard to increase production but have so far failed because of the lack of appropriate skills, tools and capital for dealing with adverse climatic conditions. Overall the production of maize decreased by 837 tons (17%). There are cultural reasons for the decline in maize in comparison to rice. The latter has a higher status and its consumption is regarded as a symbol of civilization. Although rice has long been a Rotenese staple, its increasing importance may be attributed to Indonesianization and the growing influence of Javanese culture within this context.

### 2.3 Cassava, Sweet Potato and Groundnut

Besides the staples of rice and maize, cassava, sweet potatoes, and groundnuts are also cultivated by the Rotenese, often as substitute staple foods or as cash crops. The other traditional food crops introduced by *Lakamola* are not mentioned by the statistics of *Kabupaten* (district) Kupang, because they are not recognized as important crops by the planners at the Regional Planning Board.

Tables 15, 16 and 17 show the cassava, sweet potato and groundnut production in 1990 and 1991. The area of cassava cultivation in 1991 increased by 71 ha (31%) and the production increased by 464 tons (27%). Table 15 shows the increase of the area of cassava cultivation is higher than the production itself. This is due to the lack of water, infertile land and low technology. These crops are only additional crops which people cultivate because they fail to cultivate the priority food crops such as rice and



maize. If the government can encourage the people to cultivate such crops as groundnuts instead of cassava and try to find a market for them, the people will co-operate in order to get cash. The groundnuts of Rote are of a high quality compared to those from other parts of NTT. The problem for this remote island is the difficulty of getting cash. They can produce plentifully, but fail to find a profitable market, often selling to middlemen for very low prices. Thus, the benefits of higher productivity are reaped by the middlemen rather than the Rotenese producers. Rote Tengah had the highest recorded cassava production (52 %), followed by Subdistrict Pantai Baru (23 %), and the lowest is the subdistrict Rote Timur with only 2.61 per cent for the year 1991.

**Table 15. Cassava Production in 1990 and 1991**

Subdistrict	The Area of Production (ha)		Production /ton	
	1990	1991	1990	1991
Rote Barat Daya	18	20	123	189
Rote Barat Daya	7	13	53	112
Lobalain	9	25	79	197
Rote Tengah	106	154	747	1128
Pantai Baru	80	82	651	501
Rote Timur	11	8	67	57
Total	231	302	1,720	2,184

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Sweet potato is also an important food crop in Rote. Table 16 shows the number of area and production of sweet potatoes. As table 16 indicates the area of

**Table 16. Sweet Potato Production in 1990-1991**

Subdistrict	Area of Production (ha)		Production/ton	
	1990	1991	1990	1991
Rote Barat Daya	20	31	122	190
Rote Barat Laut	4	5	28	30
Lobalain	4	14	30	84
Rote Tengah	6	47	36	315
Pantai Baru	8	15	58	81
Rote Timur	5	6	32	36
Total	47	118	306	736

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

sweet potato increased in 1991 from 47 ha to 118 ha, reopresenting a rise of 71 ha (151%). The production of sweet potato was 736 ton, or an increase of 140 per cent. Rote Tengah was the highest in sweet potato production in 1991 at 43 percent, then followed by subdistrict, Rote Barat Daya at 26 per cent, and subdistrict Rote Timur at 5 per cent.

The production of groundnuts is also popular in Rote, and there has been an increase in groundnut production. Table 17 shows the production of groundnuts in 1990 -1991.

**Table 17. Groundnut Production in 1990 and 1991**

Subdistrict	Area of Production (ha)		Production/ton	
	1990	1991	1990	1991
Rote Barat Daya	32	41	27	33
Rote Barat Laut	11	22	10	19
Lobalain	25	30	24	28
Rote Tengah	23	53	19	46
Pantai Baru	47	120	45	113
Rote Timur	50	73	39	57
Total	188	339	164	296

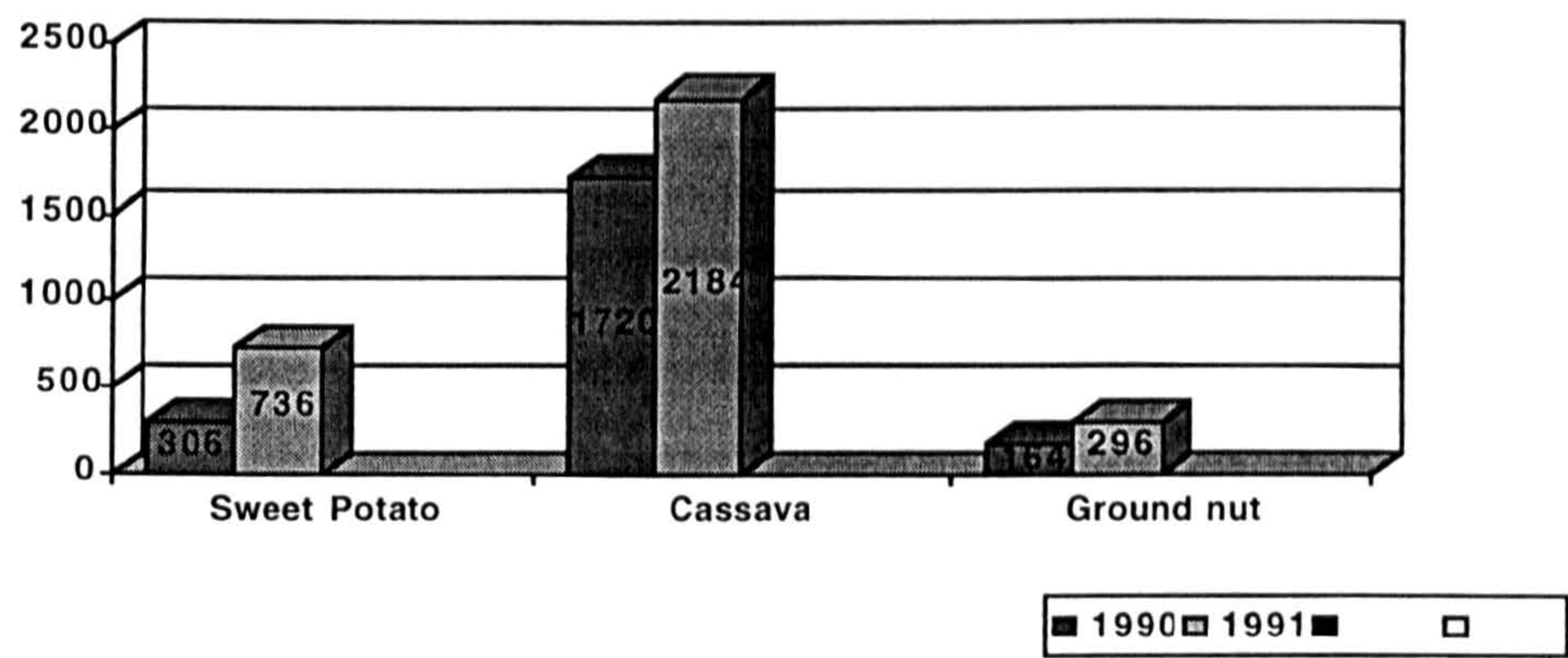
Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

The area for groundnuts increased by 151 ha (80%), and the production increased by 132 ton (80%). Subdistrict Pantai Baru showed the highest production of groundnuts by 113 ton (38%), then followed by Rote Timur the neighbour subdistrict by 57 tons (19%). Both subdistricts on east Rote have taken the opportunity to cultivate groundnuts, which is one of the cash crops of Rote.

Despite the fact that the groundnuts are of good quality and can be easily marketed, production levels remain low. In contrast cassava production is much higher, though it is potentially not as valuable. A chance of emphasis on the food crops which are grown may be beneficial in development terms.



**Figure 9. Production of Sweet Potato, Cassava and Groundnut 1990 and 1991**



**2.4. Vegetables and Fruit**

Vegetables in Rote can be found in all subdistricts but they are limited in variety and number. Table 18 shows the quantity produce per quintal of each variety of vegetables in Rote. The data on vegetables show that Rote Timur is the leading subdistrict in vegetable cultivation, though in a limited way. Despite the aridity and the fact that all six varieties of vegetables are dependent on water, vegetable production is significant. There are many water springs in Rote Timur, allowing people to cultivate vegetables in the dry season. *Kangkung*, for example, grows in swampy areas, providing the water is clean, as in Lobalain and Rote Timur. Fruit production can be found in Rote but in limited varieties and numbers, as can be seen in the table 19.

**Table 18. Vegetable Production in Rote 1991/kwintal**

Subdistrict	Lettuce	Long Beans	Kangkung	Spinach	Tomatoes	Cucumber
Rotebarat Daya	155	17	-	-	-	-
Rote Barat Laut	-	-	-	18	-	-
Lobalain	24	-	28	-	-	-
Rote tengah	15	-	20	-	-	-
Pantai Baru	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rote Timur	30	8	33	14	23	61
Total	224	25	81	32	23	61

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.



**Table 19. Fruit Production in 1991**

Subdistrict	Oranges/kw	Banana	Mango	Papaya	Bread-fruit
Rote Barat Daya	--	1,562	50	399	-
Rote Barat Laut	--	189	58	347	
Lobalain	--	930	64	61	
Rote Tengah	22	13,399	63	4,407	21
Pantai Baru		13,121	60	1,612	
Rote Timur	12	1,690	54	616	
Total	34	30,891	349	7,442	21

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

The data show that subdistrict Rote Tengah and Rote Timur cultivate 5 varieties of fruit, even though Rote Timur produces only a small amount of fruit compared to Rote Tengah because of low rainfall and poor soil. Banana comes highest in the production of fruit in Rote, since this fruit does not need special treatment like apples. Banana is also a kind of fruit which could be developed as a cash crop, because of Rote's proximity to Kupang and the Australian markets.

## **2.5 Tree Crop Production**

Coconut is part of the subsistence economy, but also has potential as a cash crop. Coconut oil is a home industry and is an important source of cash for women. By 1994 there were 1587 young coconut trees in Rote, and the islanders can look forward to a rise in production in four to five years time. Areca palms and betel vines are cultivated in the multi-crop gardens. About 50 per cent of the area is for the young betel vines and arec palms, which will be in production in five years. Kapok is another tree crop that can easily be cultivated in Rote, though the production is mostly for domestic use. Candlenut yields a wax that can be used to make lamps and candles, though today it is mainly harvested as a cash crop.

## **2.6 Livestock**

The amount of livestock varies throughout the year, partly in response to climatic changes. Animals may be slaughtered when the dry season becomes severe in order to conserve water supplies. Disease may also reduce the number of domestic



Table 20. Tree Crop Production

Subdistrict	Coconut Area Prod/ton		Betel nut Area Prod/ton		Capok-tree Area Prod/ton		Candle nut area prod/ton	
Rote BaratDaya	935	287	57	14	5	-	-	-
Rote Barat Laut	1,121	242	31	13	148	83	-	-
Lobalain	929	341	1	-	190	67	-	-
Rote Tengah	1,037	398	219	50	283	71	44,46	-
Pantai Baru	424	123	11	6	422	131	-	-
Rote Timur	279	67	12	2	170	46	-	-
Total	4,725	1,418	331	85	1,218	398	44.46	-

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

animals from time to time. During the colonial period the Dutch encouraged local farmers to hang on to their breeding stock at all costs. If one compares the figures for animal holdings compiled by Koopmans in 1921 with data collected in 1991, it is possible to detect a rise in overall prosperity. The figures only provide a rough guide since it is possible that the local farmers do not give a totally accurate picture of their livestock holdings to foreign assessors (Fox 1977:42).

Table 21. The Number of Livestock 1991

Subdistri ct	Cattle	Buffalo	Horse	Goat	Sheep	Pigs	Chicken	Duck
RBD	311	2,831	553	11,608	13,744	24,617	112,366	-----
RBL	1,520	3,514	1,966	12,881	10,388	25,752	99,254	45
LBN	744	2,373	383	887	8,062	13,837	56,137	268
RTGH	1,925	4,115	960	13,760	14,276	16,908	73,229	55
PTBR	2,306	2,903	791	12,712	1,827	20,246	68,320	63
RTM	3,811	1,826	1,863	14,187	-	14,975	25,514	65
Total	10,617	17,562	6,516	66,035	48,277	118,371	434,820	496

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Table 22. The Comparative Data of Livestock Between 1921 and 1991

Sub- district	Buffalo 1921 1991 +,--			Pigs 1921 1991 +			Goats 1921 1991 +			Sheep 1921 1991 +		
RBD	525	2831	2306	1017	24,617	23600	659	11.608	10,949	1967	13,774	11,807
RBL	696	3514	2818	1407	25,752	24345	1738	12.881	11,143	2384	10,338	7954
Lobalain	867	2373	1506	483	13,857	13374	999	887	--112	1175	8,062	6887
RTGH	1055	4115	3060	242	16,908	16666	665	13.760	13,095	821	14,276	13445
PBR	729	2905	2176	356	20,246	19890	606	12.712	12,106	1609	1827	218
RTM	875	1826	951	250	14,975	14725	979	14.187	13,208	1782	-	-
Total	4747	17,564	12,817	3755	116,355	112,600	5646	66,035	60,389	9738	48,277	38,539

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Both livestock and human populations have risen steeply since 1921. Buffalo increased by 12,817 (270%), or 3.86 per cent annually, pigs by 112,600 (2,999%) or 43 per cent annually, goats by 60,389 (1,070%) or 15.29 per cent annually, sheep by 38,539 (396%) or 5.66 per cent annually and human population as shown an increase of 47,564 (103%) or 1.45 per cent annually. All the livestock holdings have risen much more sharply than the human population. The growing ratio of domestic animals to humans is an indicator of rising prosperity.

The most dramatic increase has been that in pigs (42 % per year), a reflection of the greater attention paid to hygiene which began in the colonial period. Pigs are also easier than other animals to integrate into the agricultural system because they can be fed *lontar* fruit and juice in the dry season, and a wide range of vegetables in the wet season. Improved stabling has also helped the number of domestic pigs to rise. Not all researchers see the pig as beneficial in development terms, and point out that it is biologically inefficient as a scavenger, and a potential health hazard (Ayre-Smith 1991:102). This does not appear to present a problem in Rote where pigs can be fed *lontar* juice and are therefore not totally reliant on scavenging.

Poultry production is also important since eggs are useful in both the domestic and cash economics. An oral vaccine that is stable in heat was developed in Australia and subsequently tested in Malaysia and Thailand: it is used to control Newcastle Disease and is easy to manufacture, transport and administer to birds in the villages. A local variety of this vaccine has been manufactured in Bogor, and will soon be ready to apply to Rote. Modest breed improvement schemes to lift egg production from a surplus of 10-20 eggs each year to around 75 to 80 are feasible provided they are well supervised and managed. Increases in poultry production are of direct importance to women because they are responsible for looking after chickens. Any improvements in animal husbandry need the active participation of women as well as men.

The human population has increased by an average of 1.45% annually, corresponding to the regional and national average. This data shows that the Family Planning Programme was successful in Rote far before the campaign of the Family



Planning Programme was launched in Indonesia. The comparison between the figures for human and livestock population are as follows: pig at 1.28, goats 0.72, sheep 0.52, chicken 4.71, horse 0.07, cow 0.11, and buffalo at 0.19. Chicken and pigs are women's responsibility, and the other animals are men's. The livestock in Rote is mostly owned by the poorer households. When we look at the increase in the livestock during the past 70 years, pig production had the highest increase in Rote Barat Daya and Rote Barat Laut (22% and 21%), and the lowest was in Rote Timur and Lobalain (13% and 12%). Buffalo production was the highest in Rote Tengah (23%), followed by Rote Barat Daya (20%), and the lowest was in Lobalain and Rote Timur (14% and 10%). Goat production was higher in Rote Timur (21%) and Rote Tengah (20%), but at Lobalain it was low (1%). Sheep production was higher in Rote Tengah and Rote Barat Daya (30% and 29%) and the lowest in Pantai Baru with only 4%, while there were no data from Rote Timur. There no data gathered on chickens and ducks in 1921 .

According to the data for 1991, the highest increase in the number of chickens was in Rote Barat Daya 26%, followed by Rote Barat Laut 23%, Rote Tengah 17%, Pantai Baru 16%, Lobalain 13% and the lowest was in Rote Timur at 6%. Rotenese are less interested in ducks than other domestic animals because of the aridity. Consequently, the number of ducks in 1991, was only 496 and the highest increase was in Lobalain 54%, while in Rote Timur it was 13%, in Pantai Baru 13%, in Rote Tengah 11%, and in Rote Barat Laut 9%. There were no data from Rote Barat Daya. Rote Timur had a high percentage increase in cattle (36%) production, followed by Pantai Baru (22%), Rote Tengah (18%), Rote Barat Laut (14%), Lobalain (7%), while the lowest was in Rote Barat Daya (3%).

The distribution of livestock in Rote correlates with the suitability of each sub district for their breeding. Looking at the poorest subdistrict Rote Timur, it can be seen that some livestock breed well, the cattle being the highest in this subdistrict (36%), goats are 21% (Rote Tengah is 20.83%) and horses are 29% (Rote Barat Laut is 30%). Duck rearing is the second in Lobalain, where pig and chicken rearing is the lowest among the subdistricts. What is significant is that Rote Timur is the most sparsely

populated and has the lowest growth rate, showing an increase of only 0, 82 between 1970-1980 and in 1980-1990 only 1.06. The average population density is 43.31 per square mile while the highest population density is in Lobalain (118.80), since Lobalain is the official headquarters of all subdistricts of Rote. It is suggested here that one of the ways of boosting livestock production is to pay more attention to small animals such as goats, sheep, pigs, chickens that are looked after by women. Cattle and buffalo are needed for meat and milk, horses for transportation and entertainment (horse racing) and are high status animals used for paying bridewealth and traditional fines. But pigs, goats, sheep and chickens are vital for everyday consumption and for keeping cash flowing through the economy. The animals tended by women can also be used to generate cash quickly and thus each family's livelihood is heavily dependent on inner house animal husbandry on a day-to-day basis.

### 2.7 Fishing

Even though Rote is a small island surrounded by sea, the sea is not being fully exploited. The sea only provides a small resource to the people, with high risk jobs, such as seamen or fishermen using their traditional ships and tools for fishing. There are some data from the statistics of the kinds of fish that they caught during the year of 1991 (see table 23).

**Table 23. Fish Production 1991/ton**

Subdistrict	Tuna fish/ton	Cybium/ ton	.Calc arifer / ton	Clupea /ton	Small fish/ton	Others/ ton	Total/ ton	The number of Fishermen
Rote Brt Daya	29	16	3.5	43	73	92.5	257	251
Rote Brt Laut	27	22	10	101	127	195	482	248
Lobalain	30	23	8	207	128	134.5	538.5	152
Rote Tengah	1	11.5	2.5	21.5	75	164.5	276	416
Pantai Baru	31	11	6	252	152	155	607	131
Rote Timur	25	15	4	300	153	93.5	595.5	614
Total	151	98.5	34	929.5	708	835	2756	1 362

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.



Besides fish, there is also a small catch of shrimps, in Rote Barat Laut and Pantai Baru (1.4 and 2.2 ton per year), lobsters in Rote Timur 34.5 ton per year, sea-cucumber in Rote Barat Laut and Lobalain (1.2 and 1.5 ton per year) and lake fish (freshwater fish) from all over Rote at 19 tons per year. Table 23 shows that the subdistricts in eastern Rote such as Pantai Baru and Rote Timur have caught a large number of fish compared to western part of Rote. Lobalain shows even a greater quantity of fish landed, but there are a great number of fishermen from the island of Ndao who stay there periodically. Eastern Rotenese mostly turn to the sea since the land cannot offer many opportunities for their livelihood. The figures for fishermen will now be considered in order to see the total number of fishermen of each subdistrict and how much they catch in one year.

Tables 23 and 24 show the number of the fishermen in each subdistrict compared to the fish they caught in one year. Rote Timur with 614 fishermen only caught 595.5 tons per year or 0.97 tons per year per man, while Pantai Baru with only 131 fishermen caught 4.63 tons per year per man. Rote Tengah with 416 fishermen caught 276 tons per year or 0.66 tons per year per man, while Lobalain with 152 fishermen caught 538.5 tons per year or 3.54 tons per year per man. Rote Barat Laut with 248 fishermen caught 482 tons per year or 1.94 tons per year per man, while Rote Barat Daya with 251 fishermen caught 257 tons per year or each man caught 1.02 tons per year. These data indicate that the east part of Rote, such as Pantai Baru is the leading area in fishing with catches of 4.63 tons per year per fisherman then Rote Timur with 34.5 tons of lobster per year, followed by subdistrict Lobalain with 3.54 tons per year per fisherman, while the lowest is subdistrict Rote Tengah 0.66 per tons per fisherman. The data shows that subdistricts with the highest production in agriculture achieved this through a combination of good land and technology. But since many areas that consist of dry land lack government input and development, many Rotenese have little choice but to make a living from the sea, where little skill or technology is required. But this means that they must compete with fishermen from other areas with more sophisticated technology, forcing them out of the market. To increase the income of people in Rote it

is necessary to understand what they already have, what they are capable of, and how they can be persuaded to change their way of life and think in terms of new economic systems.

**Table 24. The Fishermen in 1991**

Subdistrict	Fulltime Fishermen	Part-time Fisherman	Others	Total
Rote Brt daya	78	82	91	251
Rote Brt Laut	77	81	90	248
Lobalain	45	49	58	152
Rote Tengah	176	175	65	416
Pantai Baru	45	45	41	131
Rote Timur	255	254	105	614
Total	676	686	450	1362

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

## 2.8 Tourism Projects

The Governor of NTT in 1988 stated that tourism in NTT was fifth on the list of priorities in Repelita V (1989/1990-1993/1994). The regional government of NTT gave a priority to tourism as an important sector by exploring its possibilities and using natural and cultural resources that are not already being utilised effectively (Gubernur Kepala Daerah Tingkat I NTT 1988). It is hoped that the development of tourism will contribute to increasing the welfare of the people in NTT; this involves social requirements, such as tourist facilities. For isolated islands like the islands of NTT, it is important to give careful consideration as to how these requirements can be fulfilled. Usually tourists travel between countries and regions for purposes of business or trade, meetings, recreation, sport, health, study visits etc. The first priorities to facilitate tourists needs as stated by Peku Djawang are: 1. Basic infrastructure: roads, transportation, including good harbours, airports, bus stations, electricity, clean water and sanitation. This developments ideally should be provided by the government, though its resources are overstretched in N.T.T. 2. Supporting facilities, such as information, local transport, accommodation, food refreshment, package tours, shopping and souvenirs could, in theory, be provided by the local community or external investors (Umbu Peku Djawang 1991:155-164). Although tourism



development has been given fifth priority in NTT since 1989, Rote and Savu are only at the third stage 1995-2000. Tourism Development Plan 1986-2000, NTT can be illustrated as follows:

**Table 25. Tourist Development Plan in NTT (including Rote)**

	Tourism Development Area	Tourist Centre for Each Area
First stage (1986-1990)	West Flores Central Flores West Timor Sumba	Labuan Bajo Ende, Maumere Kupang Waikabubak
Second stage (1990-1995)	West Flores East Flores Sumba	Ruteng Larantuka Waingapu
Third Stage (1995-2000)	West Flores Rote Savu Alor	Bajawa Ba'a Seba Kalabahi

Source: Umbu Peku Djawang 1991:157.

Most of the eastern Indonesian tourist resorts are not well known internationally due to remoteness and lack of promotion. As a result not many investors are interested in these islands as yet, which makes this area isolated from the other tourist centres in eastern Indonesia such as Bali, and Lombok. Another problem is that the location of tourist attractions is scattered across the islands of NTT. In addition, there is the high cost of transportation and lack of transportation especially by air, which the tourists greatly prefer. Land transportation infrastructure from the capital towns to the tourist sites is inadequate, and there is lack of electricity, drinking water and telephone services. Local festivals, which could serve as tourist attractions, are not scheduled and promoted, and are thus difficult to fit into tourist itineraries. Village dance performances are difficult to present to tourists because they are often not accessible (Hughes-Freeland 1993: 153-54). The quality of the service in the hotel and accommodation and restaurants is not up to a desirable standard, because of low levels of training and expertise.

The Indonesian government tends to see culture as a resource that can be exploited for development. The riches of the traditional cultural system of the islands of NTT have, however, not been promoted systematically as tourist attractions. The area is

known for the diversity of its traditional architecture and handicrafts, and appears to have potential as a tourism destination. Care needs to be taken in the presentation of local festivals for tourism so as not to undermine their local value. Local people, however, value the tourist business and the activity of festivals and tourists could be made really welcome. Local work activities such as *lontar* tapping and storing grain could also be used educationally in the service of tourism. One of the most important factors is the geographical location of NTT which is relatively close to Australia, one of the major sources of tourists in Southeast Asia. NTT could be the bridge between Australia, Bali and Lombok, the well known tourist centres of eastern Indonesia. Tourism was given priority in 1990 at the end of the fifth national development plan.

Tourism is an important challenge to the remote and poor islands of Indonesia, which risk being overlooked in Indonesia's drive to industrialise. There are thousands of islands in NTT that have the same conditions as Rote, and which survive by their subsistence economies. They would all like to improve their lot. Rote, Savu and Alor are overcoming many obstacles, though tourism remains relatively underdeveloped.

Small-scale tourism may offer a realistic source of income in the predominantly rural islands of NTT. The islands have great natural beauty and are home of diverse peoples and cultures. The transport and communication links with Bali are improving steadily, though the role of the government is vital. The private sector is unwilling to develop the necessary infrastructure, though it is involved in lower risk developments such as hotel and shop construction. Rote, Ndao and its surrounding islands occupying about 1,607,10 sq. kms may prove attractive to tourists because of their comparative lack of development. Better known destinations such as Bali are already suffering from overcrowding and overdevelopment. The route from Kupang to Ba'a is served by a ferry once a day, a small Merpati aeroplane once a week, and the rest of the outside connections are by traditional ships. Only some of these ships are motorised, but their journeys are dangerous when the sea becomes very wild in July to August. Inland transportation is served by a few buses and vans (known as *bemo*) with 12 to 20 people per vehicle. Of the various methods of transport the most popular is the motorcycle,



operated as a rental business between one village and another or between one domain and another. The price of gasoline is high in Ba'a compared to Kupang, with consequent higher fares. People prefer to walk and carry their goods to nearby markets, only requiring transportation for longer distances. There is only one harbour for the ferry at Pantai Baru, but the road to east Rote is only suitable for motorcycles in the rainy season. It is hoped that during the next PELITA the government will give more priority to the roads in east Rote. The road to west Rote such as Rote Tengah, is reasonable, but that to Rote Barat Daya and Rote Barat Laut is very poor in the rainy season, being asphalted for only a short distance around Ba'a, so that it is difficult to visit all the villages. Most messages are delivered by motorcycle. The telephone is only installed in the area around Ba'a, and is for Chinese retailers, or government services, the elite groups of the islands. The island is visited by the governor only once in five years, the last visit being in 1990. The bupati may visit more regularly, since most information is dependent on reports from each department at subdistrict and district levels, though the information is often not very reliable because of the way the statistical data is gathered. A combination of tourism and local development may be used to enhance local communications.

The ratio of domestic visitors compared to foreign visitors was 115:18 in 1989. One year later in 1990 private investors provided three small houses for bed and breakfast in Ba'a. The first hotel, Ricky was founded in 1989. Their statistics for the number of visitors show an increase of 237 or 206 per cent in domestic visitors and 113 or 628 per cent in foreigners which means that the domestic visitors increased twice from the year before, and the number of foreigners increased by six times within one year. In 1990, another domestic investor provided one hotel for Bed and Breakfast, and the number of domestic visitors was 368, an increase of 16 or 4.55 per cent from the previous year, while the foreign visitors decreased by 54 per cent. If the data can be trusted, it means that the first visitors both domestic and foreigner did not pass on the good information to others, so the number of visitors decreased sharply in 1990. I have no data for 1991 and 1992, so I do not fully understand the cause of the decrease in the

number of visitors. I suspect that although the accommodation has increased the quality has not improved. Talking to one of the heads of the villages in Rote about the plans for foreign tourists co-ordinated by the government, gave me the idea that this coordination would not greatly benefit the local people, though they are encouraged to prepare more traditional entertainments for the tourists. In Nemberalla, subdistrict Rote Barat Daya, three house owners not only provided bed and breakfast and accommodation for foreign tourists, but also other meals at very low prices. Tourists who want to come to Nemberalla, will first stay one night at the hotel in Ba'a, then the next day will be transported to Nemberalla. Most of the foreign tourists visiting Nemberalla are from Australia, since they know through their own informal networks that it is a good, quiet and cheap place.

Many natural sites in Rote could be developed for tourists. For example, Oemasapoka Lake, 5 kms long and 3 kms wide is in Rote Timur. In the middle of the lake there are three small islands, Tamunu, Ondo and OEana Nusa, surrounded by springs. According to the regional government report this lake could be used for diving, water skiing and rowing. The problem that has yet to be fully appreciated by the local authorities is that many other islands offer similar attractions to tourists. If tourism is going to provide Rote with some realistic development strategies, then care needs to be taken with the presentation of Rote's identity.

Pantai Nusak Dale, or Nusak Dale Coast is 5 km long with beautiful white sand sunshine and coconut palms. It is close to a water spring and only 16 kms from the ferry harbour. This coast is suitable for surfing and diving. Leli, or the Coast of Leli in Onatali village, subdistrict Rote Tengah is close to Ba'a and in the middle of the way to the ferry harbour. This coast has white sand and coconut palms, with the beautiful background of the historic Rock of Batu Termanu. There is a high steep cliff facing the Indian Ocean, which is suitable for skydiving. OEseli, or Oeseli coast in Batutua village in Rote Barat Daya is full of coconut palms and covered by white sand, 40kms from Ba'a. Its sea is calm with beautiful sunshine, and it is suitable for rowing, water skiing and diving. Pantai Nemberalla or Nemberalla coast in Rote Barat Daya, is covered with



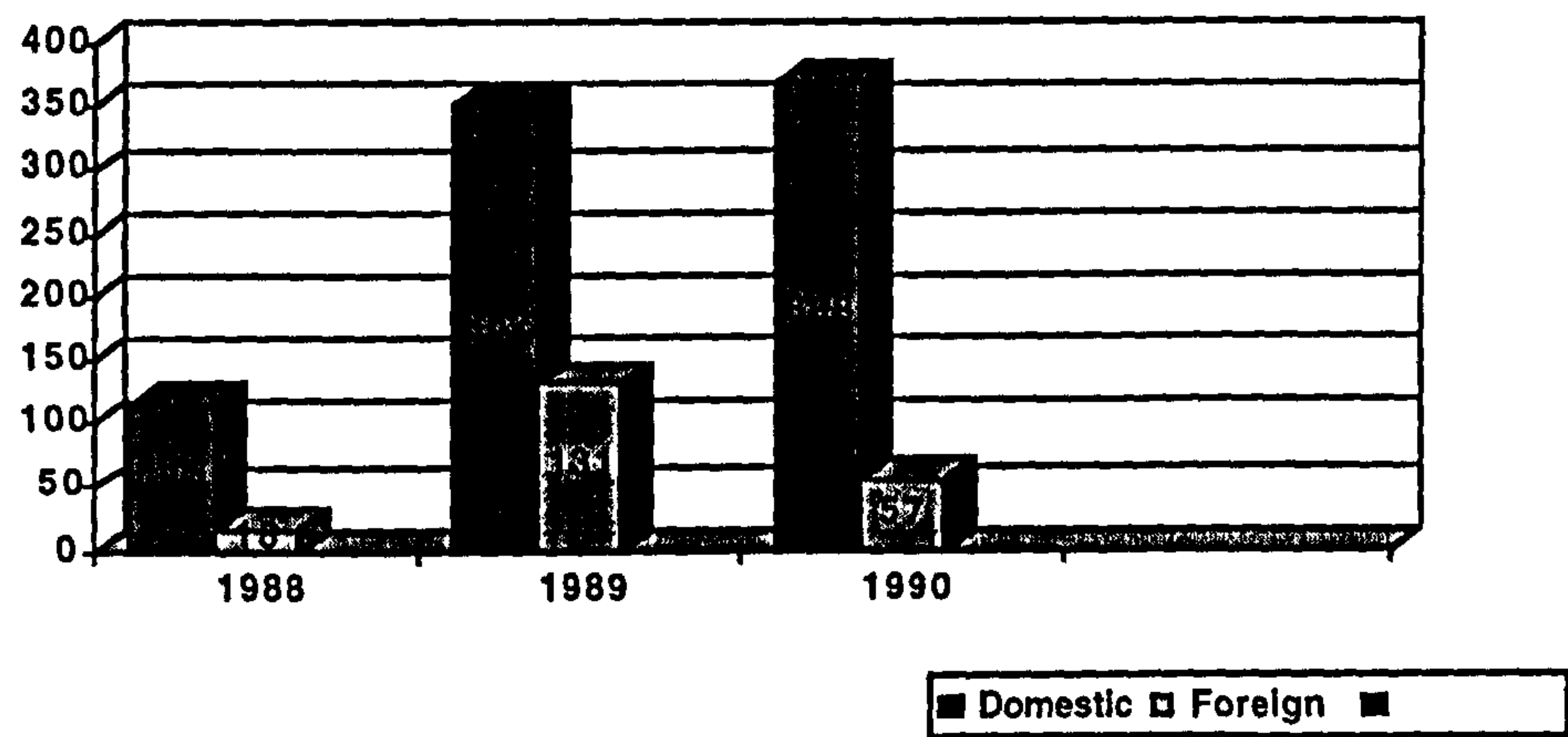
white sand and coconut palms, close to the village which is clean and quiet. Now there are many tourists from Australia who are familiar with this coast. It is suitable for surfing, diving etc. The uninhabited island of Ndana is a small island 7kms length and 2 kms width, close to the west coast of Rote. There are deer, special long-necked turtles, and many kind of birds and bats. There are also water springs and an old well as historic monuments surviving from the legendary past of the kingdom of Ndana. It is, perhaps necessary to place emphasis on the unique cultural and environmental characteristics of Rote so that tourism can be developed.

Annually a traditional harvest ceremony (*Limbe ndeo*) is performed in the village of Busalangga in Rote Barat Laut, 41 kms from Ba'a. This ceremony peculiar is to the traditional religion called Dinitiu. It is held in the traditional houses and is performed for several days with a traditional communal dance called *kebalai* and *hus*, horse dances. In Kampung Adat Danoheo or Danoheo traditional village, in Rote Barat Daya, 7 kms from Batutua, and 25 kms from Ba'a, the traditional office of *nusak* Thie Fiulain is maintained and also a place where the first school and churches of Rote were founded by the manek Thie, FoE Mbura in 1730.

Traditional dances, music and recitations are presented by *manahelo* (chanters) on special occasions such as funerals and weddings. Tourists can observe traditional weaving and plaiting and a variety of other household crafts. They can also watch the practice of traditional religion with its leaders in the *manasonggo* who still perform rituals to ask favours from their ancestors in a ceremony called *songgo*. All these tourist attractions, which are spread over the island have been publicised and supported by the tourism industry, but tourism still needs both basic and support infrastructures which are lacking in this island. Then Rote needs investors who will develop the tourist industry after the government has provided the basic infrastructure. Ideally these preparations should be completed before the first tourists come to Rote, so ensuring that when they go back they will promote the island to their friends and families. Inconvenient accommodation, transportation or unscheduled transport and entertainment, prevents people from visiting. The decline in the number of foreign

tourists to Rote from 1989 was because of the difficulties which they faced when they visited in 1989. The first necessity of tourism is to provide for the basic needs of the tourist, then to educate the society on how to behave towards foreign tourists. Tourists also need to be provided with cultural information and guidance on what is and what is not regarded as appropriate behaviour without alienating them. The campaign should be promoted through the strategic media such as school children and parents, as well as through the heads of villages and the religious leaders, or informal leaders like the elderly in each *nusak*. The behaviour of a society towards the visitors is also important in order to make the visitors want to lengthen their visit. The data in figure 9 show the number of foreign tourists decreased sharply from 1989 to 1990, and the domestic tourists increase slowly from 1988 to 1990.

**Figure 10. Domestic and Foreign Tourists (1988-1990)**



The accommodation and the visitors of Rote during the year 1988 to 1990 are tabulated in table 26.

There are 5 hotels in Rote, all in Ba'a. There are some tourist lodgings in Rote Barat Daya such as in Nemberalla, and Rote Tengah in Oeseli. Tourists can stay in Ba'a in a good hotel and every morning go by bus to visit the tourist attractions, subject to the limitations of the transport, the roads and the weather.



**Table 26. The Number of Tourists and Tourist Accommodation in Rote (1988-1990)**

Hotel / Accommodation	1988		1989		1990	
	Domestic	Foreigner	Domestic	Foreigner	Domestic	Foreigner
Ricky	115	18	135	18	135	25
L.Ketsia	x	x	118	48	115	8
Pondok Wst Karya	x	x	51	36	63	9
Pondok Wst Anugrah	x	x	48	29	51	9
Pdk Wst Hasan Lms	x	x	x	x	4	6
Total	115	18	352	131	368	57

Source: Umbu Peku Djawang 1991:159-160.

### 3. Social development

The challenge of development of Rote as well as other islands in eastern Indonesia is demanding.

Poverty in NTT is called 'structural poverty' which is caused by limited natural resources, geographical isolation, the lack of basis for industrial development, and the low level of absorption of labour in non-agricultural sectors, as well as socio-cultural constraints. He also points out that NTT has potential natural resources which can be exploited to raise the income of the population, but the efforts to exploit the resources are blocked by the problem of the region's isolation (Manuwoto 1991:59).

Keeping in mind what Manuwoto stated, I suspect that the political challenges are probably greater than the natural. For example, since the national development budget is based on the population in one region, most parts of eastern Indonesia are still left behind, because of the population is small and scattered in many islands or over a wide area with poor communications and transport. Thus sometimes transportation absorbs one-third of the budget, a fact which planners often forget to take into account.

In 1991 development data for Rote was recorded in the social sectors, comprising education, religion, health, housing, electricity, clean water, and transportation and communication. The development of a society can also be encouraged by interchangeable information through transportation and communication. The level of development reached by this society depends mostly on the factors that

have been mentioned before.

3.1 Education

The level of education of Rote is relatively high due largely to the participation of the traditional leaders (*manek*) in the seventeenth century and followed by the religious institutions (*GMIT and Yupenkris*). Christian education institutions have played an important role in NTT, such as *Yapmas* and *Yapnusda* in Sumba, *Yupenkris* in Timor, Rote, Savu and Alor. Catholic education institutions in Flores are well known, since many students from Flores are successful in entering the State University or qualify for university in Kupang or Java when they compete with students from other parts of Indonesia. But according to Manuwoto the level of education, which is relatively high in NTT, has not yet been reflected in dynamic economic activities (Manuwoto 1991:60).

The number of school, teachers and students in Rote can be seen in (table 27).

Table 27. Schools, Teachers and Students in Rote 1991

Subdistrict	Nursery School			Primary School			Junior H School			Senior H.School		
	Sch	St	Tch	Sch	St	Tch	Sch	St	Tch	Sch	St	Tch
Rote Bart Daya	1	15	1	20	2916	11	1	290	18	0	0	0
Rote Barat Laut	1	23	1	30	4294	196	1	182	20	0	0	0
Lobalain	2	89	8	21	2929	141	2	792	67	2	537	60
Rote Tengah	0	0	0	18	2173	98	2	340	29	0	0	0
Pantai Baru	1	14	1	13	1990	95	1	216	19	0	0	0
Rote Timur	1	10	1	19	2312	107	1	214	19	0	0	0
Total	6	151	12	121	16,614	752	8	2034	172	2	537	60

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991      Sch=school, St=student, Tch=teacher

The data show that the number of nursery school is limited, and the number of children is 151, or 0.16% of the population, while one subdistrict has no nursery school. This means that children's education starts at 7 years of age. There is no programme for children under seven years of age; they stay at home with their mothers, or grandmothers or some other child-minder and lose most of their best time for education. The only project to take care of children in this age group is *Bina Keluarga dan Balita* or BKB initiated by PKK and Dharma Wanita. The BKB project means guiding the children under five years of age, encouraging their families play with them



using toys (*APE, Alat Permainan Educatif*). By using the educational playing tools, the children are taught to play properly in order to maximise the development of all their mental and physical potential. This project can be carried out by the school teachers, primarily the female teachers in their spare time. The PKK focuses their project on the families in the village, while Dharma Wanita focuses on urban families. It is supported by the government through collaboration with the Ministries of Family Planning, Health, Home Affairs, Education and Culture and the office of the Ministry of the Role of Women (Men. UPW). The project, however, faces the problem of lack of human resources, namely people trained to deal with educational aids and the ideas behind these projects. It needs professional instructors with an educational background such as teachers who are familiar with handling children and trained on how to operate the projects successfully.

Rote has 1,105 school teachers in 131 school buildings spread over all the villages. The number of students attending elementary school is 16,614 (18% of the total population) with 752 teachers in 121 school buildings. This means that for every 773 villagers there is one primary school. The school teachers who are the educated people among the villagers are the potential human resources in the village, but they have not yet been recognized as such by the government administrators at the village level. The problem is that the living standards of the teachers are rather low compared to those of the government officers. Although they receive equal salaries, teachers usually have no chance to do extra work to earn additional money since they have to be in the class-room every day. Yet teachers who are closely involved with women's projects, should be used more fully in development schemes since they are more educated than the other women.

Rote has seven junior high schools, with 2,034 students and 172 teachers, there being at least one school for each subdistrict. One in 46 of the population is a junior high school student, and for every 544 people there is one junior high school teacher. The one junior school especially for female students is scheduled to be closed and

moved to Kupang since there are to be no more single-sex schools at the junior high school level.

There are two senior high schools in Rote, both in Ba'a. One is a private school run by the Christian Educational Institution of Protestant Churches in NTT called Yupenkris, and one a public school. There are 537 public senior high school students (*SMA Negeri*) with 60 teachers. In 1990, 114 students graduated (82%). The location of this high school in Ba'a requires students from all over Rote to come to Ba'a to continue their study. But the number of senior high school students is very low compared to the number at junior high school level. This is an indication that not all qualified students go to the senior high school in Ba'a. Some may go to Kupang, since the fare on the ferry or traditional ships is not so high, and the living standard is similar. The number of the students compared to the population is about 174:1, or for every 174 population there is one student in senior high school. The quality of the population cannot only be identified by the new great buildings around the town, but lies also in the quality of education given to the society. It is sad to realise as Manuwoto argued that the educational quality of NTT, has limited impact on economic development, (1991:60). Well-educated islanders tend to leave in search of better opportunities elsewhere.

The role of religious institutions in education is very important. The role of private primary school compared to the public school, as shown in the table is public school 84% and private 16%. Student intake in public schools is 87%, in private schools 13%. The number of teachers at public schools is 82% compared with 18 % in private schools. The challenge to the private schools is high since they lack support, few people can afford them. The government still subsidises private schools in NTT as well as in the other parts of Indonesia. The population of Kupang District is 528,369 compare with the number of students 120,962 or 4:1, while in Rote the population is 93,592 compared with the number of students 19,185 or 5:1. This means that there is one student to every 4 population of Kupang, and 5 of Rote. There is one teacher in Kupang for 18 students (1:18), and one for 19 for Rote.



**Table 28. The Number of Public and Private Primary Schools in Rote 1991**

Subdistrict	Public Primary School			Private Primary School		
	St	Tch		Sch	St	Tch
Rote Barat Daya	20	2,916	115	0	0	0
Rote Barat Laut	24	3,527	136	6	767	60
Lobalain	15	2,286	103	6	643	38
Rote Tengah	15	1,910	85	3	263	13
Pantai Baru	11	1,770	81	2	220	14
Rote Timur	17	2,111	97	2	201	10
Total	102	14,520	617	19	2,094	135

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

The number of schools, teachers and students of the district (*kabupaten*) Kupang and Rote can be seen in table 29.

**Table 29. The Number of Schools in District Kupang and Rote 1991**

School Level	School		Teacher		Students	
	Kupang	Rote	Kupang	Rote	Kupang	Rote
Primary School	508	21	3844	752	88,641	16, 614
Junior H. School	82	8	1521	172	18,856	2,034
Senior H School	42	2	1213	60	13, 465	537
Total	632	31	6578	984	120,962	19,185

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

The percentage of women in Kupang is 47.70 %, and in Rote is 49.20 % but it is difficult to find how many are female students, since there is no record for them, either in Kupang district or in Rote.



**Figure 11. The Number of Male and Female Students in Kupang (Non-Depdikbud)**

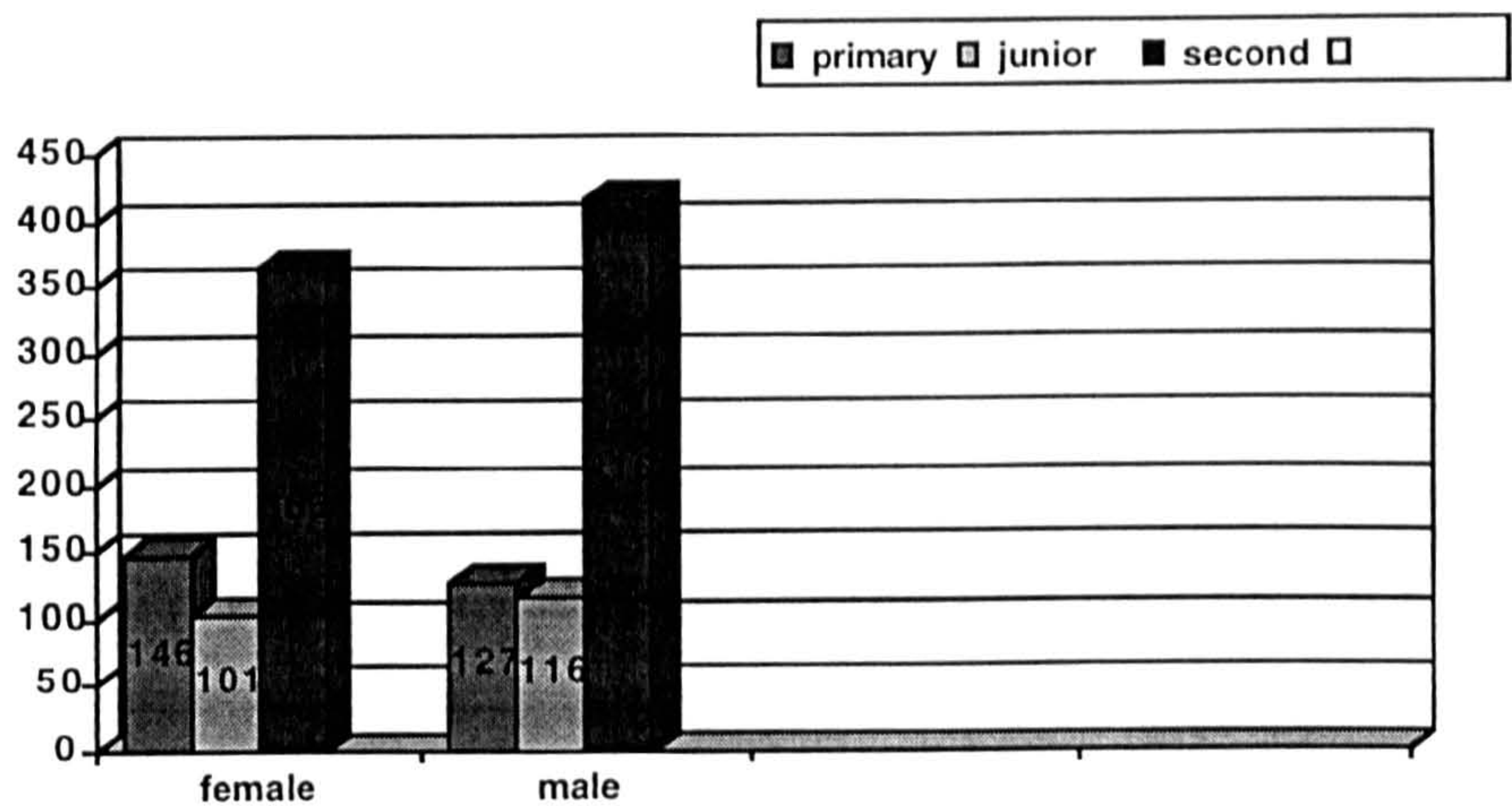


Figure 11 shows the gender distribution of Kupang students in 1991 thus: Primary (male 127, female 146) Junior (male 116, female 101) Secondary (male 416, female 366). The number of female students in Junior High School has decreased. Only at primary school level is the number of female students higher than males. The number of female students is high at the primary school level (53.30%), but at the Junior school it began to decrease to 46.54% and at the senior high school to 46.80%. The total number of female students who attend school is 48.19% which shows that the female students also take the opportunity to attend school to get a good education. This will enable females to compete with males in the modern job market in the future, though there is a risk of outmigration if the local economy is unable to provide work for the increasingly better educated workforce.

**3.2 Health**

**Table 30. Health Facilities in Rote 1991**

Subdistrict	Doctor	Nurse	Mid-wife	Training Cadre	Others	BCC	Health Center
Rote Barat Daya	1	3	2	20	3	1	5
Rote Barat Laut	1	7	0	28	3	1	8
Lobalain	2	5	1	56	4	1	3
Rote Tengah	0	5	0	22	2	1	4
Pantai Baru	1	3	2	25	0	1	3
Rote Timur	0	8	0	21	0	1	3
Total	5	31	5	172	12	6	24

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.



Health indicators in 1991	Rote	NTT 1985	Indonesia 1985
Population per doctor	18,718	16,160	8,130
Population per nurse	3,019	2,813	3,146
Population per Health Centre	15,598	20,273	29,542
Population per Family Planning Clinic	13,370	2,718	3,095

The critical point is that there is neither a specialist doctor in Rote nor even a dentist. The number of people served by each doctor has risen since 1985, and it is one factor in the high infant mortality rate in Rote. There are many problems relating to the health service. Even though a large number of people are served by one doctor, relatively few people will go to the doctor because they lack the means to pay. Rote is close to Kupang, so most patients who have enough money prefer to go there to visit a specialist rather than go to a local doctor or a nurse. There is little opportunity for an ambitious doctor to make money in a region like Rote. Most of the doctors only spend two or three years there because it is compulsory for young doctors to work in remote islands in Indonesia before being allowed to specialize or work for the Health Department. Usually, they leave the island as soon as they finish their work periods and ask for another doctor to replace them. Experienced doctors are in short supply in the smaller Indonesian islands. Health service in the remote areas depends mainly on the nurses or other health training cadres, or trained midwives etc. The range of diseases shown in the following table are typical of underdeveloped regions in Indonesia.

**Table 31. Diseases in Rote in 1991**

Disease	Rote Barat Daya		Rote Barat Laut		Lobalain		Rote Tengah		Pantai Baru		Rote Timur	
ISPA*	2647	17%	5412	24%	9574	55%	485	4.3%	2775	27%	4219	31%
Influenza	769	4%	360	2%	141	.8%	869	8%	84	0.8%	372	3%
Fever	2647	15%	1722	8%	3817	22%	2071	18%	1944	20%	4298	32%
Skin Dis	1186	7%	2340	10%	2051	12%	738	7%	980	10%	2369	18%
Bronchitis	133	0.8%	548	2%	1011	6%	353	3%	94	.9%	2369	18%
Anaemias	326	2%	382	2%	535	3%	116	1%	305	3%	204	2%
Tuberculosis	353	2%	341	1%	89	0.5%	246	2%	131	1%	9	.06%
Diarrhoea	440	4%	492	2%	458	3%	245	2%	291	3%	171	1%

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991. \* ISPA (Infeksi Saluran Pernapasan bagian Atas), Infection of the upper throat, causing breathing difficulties.

In many subdistricts the most prevalent disease is ISPA (*Infeksi Saluran Pernapasan bagian Atas*), an infection of the upper throat causing breathing difficulties especially for babies. Fever and skin disease are highest in Rote Timur being 32% and 18% respectively. Malarial fever will only disappear when the government stresses killing the mosquitoes which cause it. This is a dangerous disease, since it can kill people or cause the patient to lose energy. Skin diseases are mainly caused by lack of water, or uncleanness of the environment.

### 3.3 Family Planning.

The population growth rate of Rote (1980-1990) is 1.03, below the average of NTT and National. The role of women in family planning is important, which can be illustrated by the participation of women in the birth control programmes.

**Table 32. Method of Contraception Used by Men and Women in Rote 1991**

Subdistrict/ Contraceptions	IUD	Pill	Condom Men	MOP	Injection	Implant	Total
Rote Barat Daya	343	139	1	15	1187	132	1817
Rote Barat Laut	420	149	0	17	919	515	2020
Lobalain	580	113	0	30	410	432	1565
Rote Tengah	198	196	5	18	543	348	1303
Pantai Baru	12	252	0	29	767	345	1405
Rote Timur	184	140	0	7	1024	12	1377
Total	11747	989	6	116	4860	1784	9482

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

The participation of women in birth control programmes is 99.93%, while for men only 0.07% (condom). The statistics suggest that the adoption of contraception awareness projects for men could usefully be introduced. The form of contraception most favoured by the women is by injection with 4850 (51%) using this method. The number of married women who accept birth control methods can be seen in the next table. Contraceptive prevalence in the province of NTT is 36, Kupang district is 26, while Rote is 78 (Corner 1991: 45).



**Table 33. The Number of Acceptors Compared with the Reproductive Age of Couples 1991**

Subdistrict	Acceptors	Reproductive Age Group	Percentage
Rote Barat Daya	1817	2405	75.55
Rote Barat Laut	2020	2886	69.99
Lobalain	1565	2113	74.06
Rote Tengah	1308	1384	94.51
Pantai Baru	1405	1563	89.89
Rote Timur	1377	1594	86.39
Total	9.492	11.945	79.88

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

The data show that 79.86 per cent of the young and married couples used birth control methods., compared with Kupang district which has only 40.1 per cent and to the province of NTT with 43.6 per cent. That is one reason why the population growth rate of Rote during the last decade is 1.03. In the subdistrict Rote Barat Laut shows the lowest percentage (69.99), and it already has up to fifty per cent of the young married couple using this programme.

### 3.4 Housing, Clean Water and Electricity in Rote

The quality of life of a society can also be seen through the quality of houses, clean water, electricity etc. This table shows the quality of houses of Rote in 1991.

**Table. 34. The Quality of Houses in Rote 1991**

Subdistrict	Permanent		Semi Permanent		Temporary		Total
Rote Barat Daya	281	7.29%	382	9.89%	3198	82.82 %	3861
Rote Barat Laut	425	8.5%	924	18.49%	3648	73%	4997
Lobalain	498	13.57%	330	8.99%	2841	77.43%	3669
Rote Tengah	478	17.37%	471	17.11%	1803	65.51%	2752
Pantai Baru	385	15.4 %	182	7.28%	1933	77.32%	2500
Rote Timur	306	9.5%	532	16.5%	2383	73.98%	3221
Total	2373	12%	2821	13%	15.806	75%	21.000

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

A permanent house is a house of which the walls and floors are made of bricks or stone covered by cement, zinc or tiled roofs. A semi-permanent house is one in which only part of the house is made of brick or stone and cement, or with a roof of local materials such as *lontar* leaves or sedge-grass. Temporary buildings make use of local materials, such as the wall being made of *lontar* or palm stalk (*bebak*), the roof of

sedge-grass. or *lontar* and palm leaves. the floor without cement. After a long period of development Rote can afford only 12% permanent buildings, 13% semi-permanent buildings and 75% temporary buildings. There are not many traditional houses. since they are costly to renew, and are therefore being replaced by modern types. For developing tourism it may be better to encourage the restoration of traditional houses as part of Rote's cultural heritage.

**Table 35. The Number of Households with Electricity**

Subdistrict	Electricity		Non-Electricity		Total
Rote Barat Daya	95	3%	3638	97%	3733
Rote Barat Laut	105	2%	4917	98%	5022
Lobalain	645	18%	3029	82%	3669
Rote Tengah	86	3%	2537	97%	2623
Pantai Baru	113	4%	2246	96%	2359
Rote Timur	164	5%	2969	95%	3133
Total	1208	6%	19.331	94%	20.539 (100%)

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

This table shows that only 6% of households in Rote have electricity, while NTT has 8% and Indonesia 87%. Both Rote and NTT lack electricity, which is an important factor for increasing the work opportunities. Mostly people work in the day light, and go to bed early, or wait for moonlight to engage in activities like traditional dances and singing. Activities such as pounding rice are done during moonlight. There is a need for clean water be provided by pipes, wells and springs.

**Table 36 Clean Water Resources in Rote 1991**

Subdistrict	Water pipe		Pump-Well		Non pump well		Spring
Rote Bart Daya	13		975		1846		779
Rote Bart Laut	0		153		4869		0
Lobalain	375		150		2288		976
Rote Tengah	0		382		608		1633
Pantai Baru	175		679		626		879
Rote Timur	0		217		578		2337
Total	363	3%	2,556	12%	10,815	53%	6,605 32%

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Only 3 per cent of the households have piped water, in comparison with a provincial average of 16 per cent, 53 per cent of the households depend on hand-dug-wells without pumps. Since the women's role includes fetching water, the burden on



women is still great. Rote Timur and Rote Tengah depend mostly on spring water (74.62% and 62.25%), since they have no piped water, but many springs. Rote Barat Laut lacks springs, and depends mostly on wells without pumps (96.95%). That is also the reason that vegetable and multicrops gardens can only be grown in Rote Timur and Rote Tengah.

### 3.5 Transportation and Communication

The important factor for the development of Rote is the improvement of transport and communication inland and outside the islands, especially with centres of production and distribution such as Kupang, Ujung Panjang and Java. The number of motor-vehicles in Rote can be seen in the next table.

**Table 37. The Number Vehicles in 1991**

Subdistrict	Car & Truck	Motor Cycle	Bicycle
Rote Barat Daya	4	134	37
Rote Barat Laut	6	118	179
Lobalain	70	240	34
Rote Tengah	5	70	10
Pantai Baru	3	108	18
Rote Timur	9	77	72
Total	97	747	350

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

Transportation in Rote is dominated by bicycles (747); each motor cycle can serve 125, whereas each car serves 965. Transport effects the genders in different ways. Men, for example, tend to go to the distant markets especially to the weekly market in Ba'a, since most people walk to and from there and there is not enough transportation. Communication in Rote can be understood by looking at table 37, which shows the poor transport and communication. From 1990 to 1991 the number of passengers by plane boarded and landed at Lekunik Airport in Ba'a decreased from 115 to 67 (El Tari Airport 1991 reports). Sea communication between Rote and Kupang is dominated by traditional ships; some are motorized. There is only a ferry harbour at Pantai Baru, but most people when they want to go to western Rote prefer to take traditional ships, since they can board at the nearest harbour. Since there are many harbours around Rote, most people go by boat, which is cheaper than the ferry. After

the ferry came into operation, the number of air passengers decreased, the fare being about 9 times cheaper than the airplane.

Table 38 shows that only 7 percent of the households have a radio. compared to NTT's average of 40 per cent. Only 2 per cent of the households have television, compared with the NTT average of 16 per cent, and only 0.55 per cent have a

**Table 38. The Number of Radio, Television and Telephone in Rote 1991**

Subdistrict	Radio		Television		Telephone
Rote Barat Daya	184	5%	26	1%	0
Rote Barat Laut	298	6%	84	2%	2
Lobalain	299	8%	169	4%	110
Rote Tengah	198	8%	53	2%	0
Pantai Baru	191	8%	35	1%	0
Rote Timur	182	6%	58	2%	0
Total	1352	7%	425	2%	112 0.55%

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.

telephone. The lack of transportation and communication means lack of news and important information which people need to accept new ideas. Development information targetted specifically at women needs to be presented in ways that overcome these problems. Newspapers, magazines or bulletins are rare. People become apathetic without feedback since they are isolated and it is more difficult to encourage them to participate in development.

### 3.6 Religion

In National Development Plan, religion is also a sector needing to develop, since the first point of Pancasila is belief in one God. Every religion has in theory the status and opportunity to develop.

**Table 39. Religious Composition in Rote**

Subdistrict	Protestant		Catholics		Moslem		Hindus	
	Church	People	Church	People	Mosq	People	Temple	People
R Barat Daya	43	17. 451	1	74	2	224	0	2
R. Barat Laut	55	22. 747	2	163	2	662	0	8
Lobalain	50	16. 012	1	422	2	870	0	6
Rote Tengah	64	11. 148	1	138	0	12	0	7
Pantai Baru	37	9. 469	3	390	1	275	0	3
Rote Timur	49	12. 384	1	68	1	1052	0	7
Total	298	89. 211	9	1253	8	3095	0	33

Source: Kupang Dalam Angka 1991.



Most of the Rotenese are Protestant, being 89,211 or 95 per cent. The first world religion which came to Rote was Roman Catholicism brought by the Portuguese, yet today there are few Catholics. After Rote became Dutch territory, the people readily converted from Catholic to Protestant, quickly recognising the benefits of cooperating with the newcomers. Moslems are only a few occupying the coast of Rote Timur, Lobalain and Rote Barat Laut. Most of them are retailers and seamen or fishermen. Hindus are few in number and most of them are civil servants. Some Indonesian civil servants are married to local girls, who have converted to Hinduism, Islam or Catholicism. People are free to convert from one religion to another, since freedom of religion, is ensured by the first principle of the national code Pancasila and the Constitution of Indonesia.

The majority are Protestant, but what is the meaning of majority? The role of religion in earlier times was very important for education, but now-a-days the role of religion in education is less important. There is only one Christian Senior High School (*SMA Kristen*) and a small number of Christian elementary schools mostly subsidised by the government. It is important to encourage the church leaders, and other religious leaders, to think about their role in society, not only in education, but also in other aspects of the development of their people.

Niels Mulder has argued that the majority of the religiously active people in Southeast Asia belonged to the middle class. In the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia, they have an important role in religion and politics. Most of the religious people really practice their belief in a materialistic society, but others take religion as a status symbol, as an effort to show their identity as a religious people, in terms of political need, not as a religious need. It seems that people trust the politicians more when they show that they are religious leaders because a religious appearance is needed for a political interest (Mulder 1993:191). Religion also provides a forum for ethical and moral discourse in societies where the opportunities for open debate are often restricted. That is also the reason why many national leaders or regional leaders cannot achieve much in religious terms, because they give more attention to their political objectives.

Religious leaders are given more trust because they are believed to stand for values that rise above the daily reality of politics.

Due to the Pancasila all religions have an opportunity to teach their beliefs to students from nursery schools up to the university. Many Christian girls are interested in becoming female priests in the Protestant Churches. The government offers religious activities for all religions, such as the Christian Choir competition (*Pesparani, pesta paduan suara gerejani*) which is held once in four years by all churches in Indonesia. The government also encourages the *Musabaqah Tiliwatil Quran*, a competition for Moslems in reading the Quran, which is also held once in every four years from the regional to national level.

The role of religious leaders is important, since politics and religion are related. The public are interested in political leaders when they are also religious leaders. That is why many politicians try to identify with religious institutions. Church leaders can also use the opportunity to gain support from politicians, and to collaborate with them in develop their society. Government projects for community development can also be supported by the church leaders and it easier to give information through the church than through any other media. In a community, if the church plays no part the people will be confused as to whether they should join the programmes offered to them. But if the church joins the government projects to develop society, the people will be encouraged to take part, while the role of the traditional leader has decreased, the role of church still exists. Leaders of women's organizations play an important part in encouraging women to take part in these schemes, especially if they are associated with the church. People feel that Christian women leaders can be trusted and will understand their problems. The cooperation between all religious leaders is very important. Traditional religion in Rote has been absorbed by the Protestant churches and plays a big part in the community. But in Sumba, for example, the *Marapu* followers still keep their belief and do not want to be claimed by any other religion, though slowly they are being converted to Christianity. There is no conflict between religions in Rote, so this is a chance for all religions to get together, coordinated by the government in order to



encourage their people to participate in the economic and social development programmes.

#### 4. Socio-Economic Conditions in Three Subdistricts

The social and economic conditions of the villages of the three selected subdistricts of Rote are set out in table 40.

**Table 40. Levels of Education, Employment and House Condition**

Subdistrict	Level of Education					Employment				House Condition		
	I	PS	JS	SS	U	CS	PR	F	Fs	P	SP	T
Rote B.Daya	2	74	2	12	2	15	5	75	5	32	26	42
Rote Timur	50	46	2	2	0	2	0	83	15	21	11	68
Rote Tengah	5	53	16	26	0	31	0	68	0	43	52	5

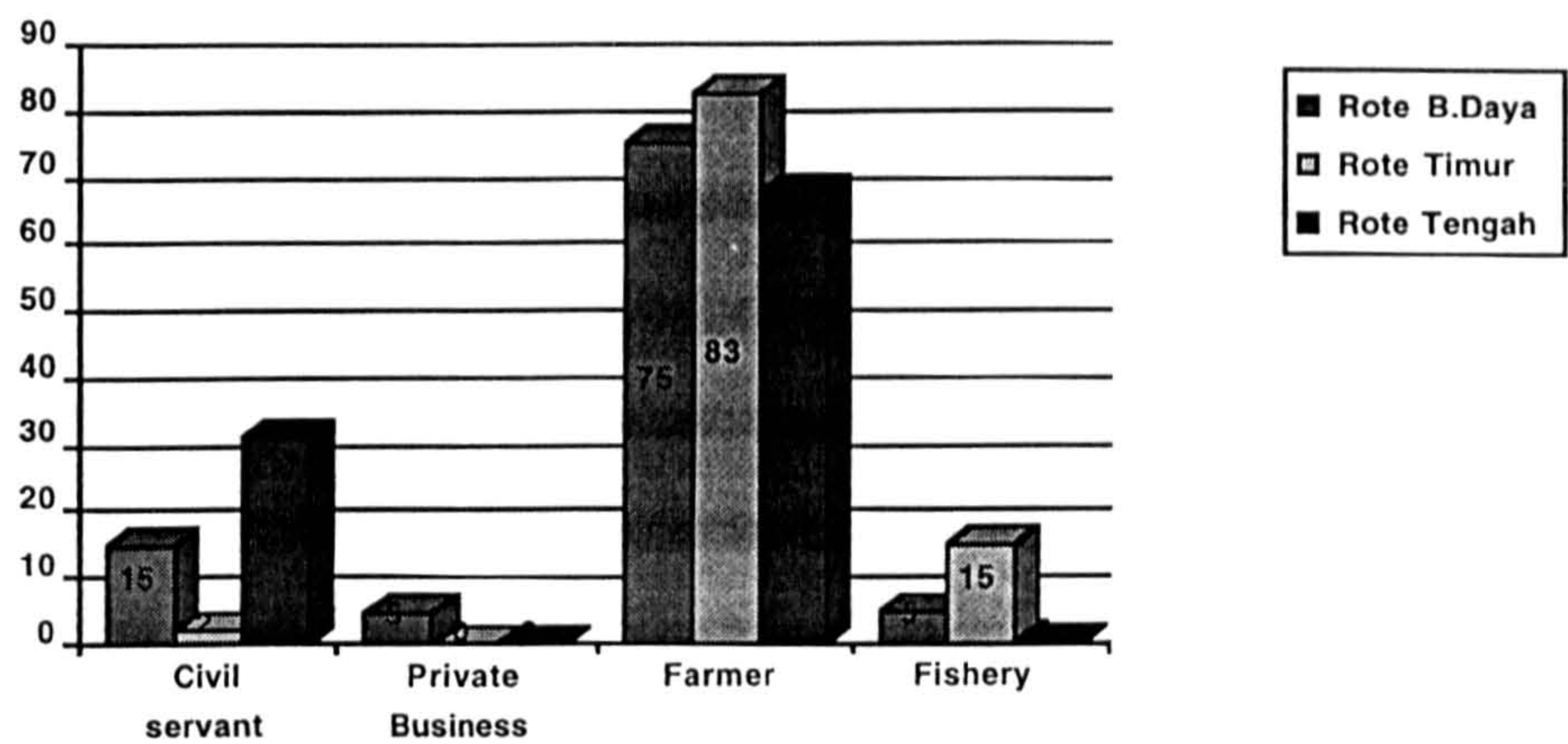
Level of Educ: I Illiterate; PS Primary School; JS Junior School; SS Secondary School; U University. Employment : CS Civil Servant. PR Private Business. F Farmer Fs. Fishing. House Condition: P. Permanent; SP, Semi-Permanent: T. Temporary.

The data show that Rote Timur is the poorest subdistrict in Rote; illiteracy is the highest (50%), the number of civil servants is the lowest (2%), and work in subsistence traditional agriculture and *lontar* tapping is the highest (83%). There are only 2 per cent of civil servants in the supporting sector of government projects in Rote Timur. Participation of women in the civil service in Rote is also low being 2 per cent, while in Rote Timur the only civil servant is a retired woman. In Rote Barat Daya 16 per cent of women work as civil servants, 2 per cent are priests compared to men, who have 19 per cent as civil servants and 6 per cent as priests. Women's most intellectual work is teaching (60%) and as administrative staff 40 per cent. There are no male teachers and men involved in intellectual work tend to be administrators.

The pattern of employment shown in Figure 12 reveals the uneven development of the three subdistricts. Participation in the non-agriculture sector is highest in Rote Tengah where the civil service employs 31 per cent, and subsistence agriculture and *lontar* tapping only 68 per cent. The absence of alternative employment, especially in the private sector is a cause for concern. In Rote Barat Daya the civil service constitutes 15 per cent. the private sector of 5 per cent is engaged in tourism and subsistence

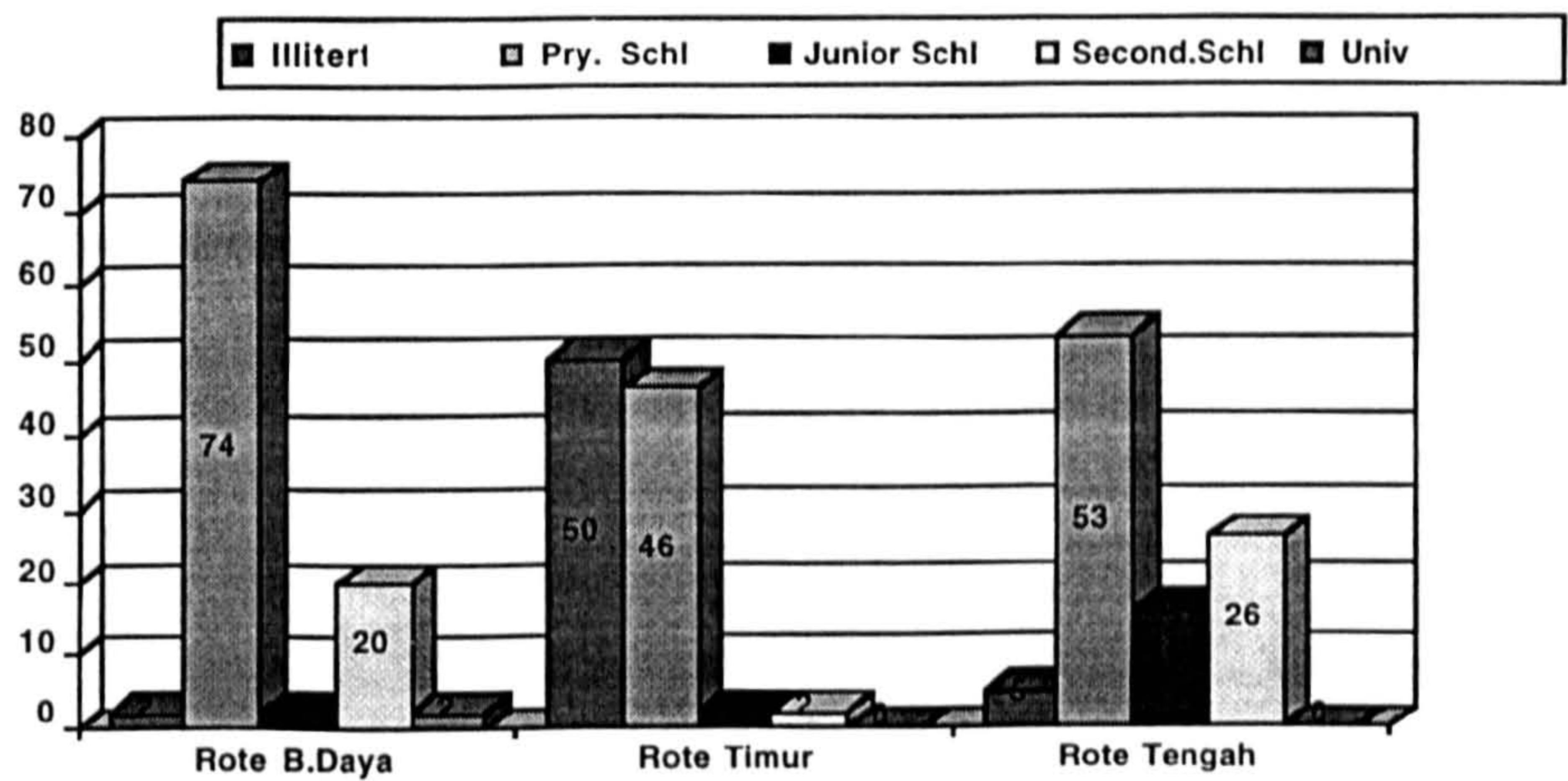


Figure 12. The Types of Employment in the Three Subdistricts



agriculture while *lontar* tapping employs 75 per cent. Rote Timur needs to develop since only 2 per cent are civil servants. There is also little small-scale commerce and 83 per cent of the population depend on subsistence agriculture, while an additional 15 per cent are involved in fishing.

Figure 13. The Level of Education in the Three Subdistricts



The level of education in the three subdistricts shown in figure 13, indicates that Rote Tengah has the highest percentage attending school. The differences shown in the totals in figure 13 are due to the remoteness of Rota Timor compared to the other



subdistricts (Bappeda NTT 1993). At all level, the national, provincial and local, the highest percentage of the population have received primary education; far fewer continuing with further education. Even in the most remote island the percentage of the population with primary school education is high because the primary school is compulsory, free and spread all over the country. But few children are educated beyond this.

Rote Tengah is classified as a non-poor subdistrict since there is no one village classified as poor, contrasting with Rote Timur which is classified as poor since there is no village classified as non-poor. Rote Barat Daya is between these two subdistricts (Bappeda Tinkat I NTT.1993). The programmes that have been implemented in Rote have been through TP-PKK, since TP-PKK mainly has responsibility at village level, through the head of the village and his wife as the head of the local TP-PKK. Dharma Wanita programmes are run only by the wives of civil servants, but since they are few in number, they also integrate with TP-PKK at the village level. Wanita GMT operates among members of the Protestant Churches in Rote. Their programmes include weaving, sewing and other handicrafts. Efficiency is best achieved when all women's organizations operating in Rote are coordinated by one committee, thus avoiding overlapping programmes. Sometimes several organization have similar programmes: for example, PKHA is run by TP-PK, Dharma Wanita and Wanita GMI, which shows that there is a lack of coordination.

**Table 41. Economic Condition of a Village in Subdistrict Rote Timur**

The items	Number	%
Permanent house	1	3
Semi permanent houses	8	27
Temporary houses	21	70
Lontar tapping	25	83
Vegetables cultivation	28	93
Multi crops garden	8	27
Firewood collection	5	16
Rice fields	8	27
Shifting cultivation	9	30
weaving	16	53
Goats	8	27
Pigs and chicken	14	47
Cows	7	2

Table 41 shows how the social and economic conditions of Rote Timur are the worst compared to the other subdistricts. This sample is taken from the village of the administration office of the head of the subdistrict, 93% of the respondents are involved in vegetable cultivation, especially red onions. It is important to notice that this domain was the first domain contacted by the Dutch at the seventeenth century, and many Christian missionaries who came from this area were sent to other islands of NTT in the eighteenth century. It is possible that the movement of missionaries from this area has deprived it of educated leadership which, in the long term, has restrained its economic development.

## 5. Summary and Conclusions

Slowly development is touching people through the National Development Plan, though not as rapidly as in other parts of Indonesia. The country suffers as much from uneven as under development. Some people are starting to build permanent houses with septic tanks, since they can buy the materials without difficulty. Communications with Kupang are improving and there is a ferry once a day. Television and radio, are regarded as important development aids in Indonesia, they are used to develop a strong sense of national purpose, though they have only reached a restricted audience in Rote.

The current National Development Plan (1994-1999) focuses on the remote areas, especially the poor villages. The project is known as *Impress Desa Tertinggal* (the villages that are left behind). The development of Rote may be slower in Rote than elsewhere in Indonesia, but this has advantages. The people have a chance to prepare themselves to be subjects of development, not only to be the objects of development. This may hopefully reduce the risk of exploitation at the hands of more sophisticated, and wealthier, outsiders. agriculture alone is insufficient to meet all of Rote's needs, and it is suggested that a combination of tourism and local technology industries, such as handicrafts, may help alleviate some of these problems.



The National Development Plan has an impact on the economic development of Rote, though it is often slow, and often not readily apparent to the local people. The government has already implemented many projects to increase the people's livelihood. Transportation has an important role in offering more opportunities for economic development. There are enough primary schools in Rote, but the quality needs to be improved, especially through training of the teachers. Another secondary high school needs to be established in each subdistrict of Rote in order to increase the level of education of the people.

Women are more active than men in family planning, and they have better knowledge about health and family planning, because Women's Organisations always give more training and information to women than to men. Comparable organisations do not exist for men.<sup>2</sup> The next programme should be focused on men as well as women, to retain a balance between men and women that is less disruptive of the traditional social order. Imbalances between the genders are as important as regional imbalances, though this may not be so easily identified. Gender complementarity is one of the important systems that should be protected in order to encourage these people to develop further their social and economic life in the next National Development Plan, without losing their local culture.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>The important ideology of development and change implied that the people should support national development, while the government provide the financial and administration which is controlled by the government. Community development is the main concept for rural development coordinated by LSD (*Lembaga Sosial Desa* , Institution of Social Village Affair ), LKMD (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa*, Institution of Village Community Defence) (Gerke 1993: 45-46)

<sup>2</sup>Since 1974 women's role and participation in development have become defined in law. And there is a relationship between economic development and the successful birth control programme. That is the reason why women became central to the success of family planning in the village through PKK.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE ROLE OF ROTENESE WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

#### 1. Introduction

Since 1970s the Indonesian government has given more attention to the role of women in development, and in *Repelita III* (1979-1984) the role of women in national development has been enshrined in the general development guidelines (*GBHN*). At the same time the government appointed a Junior Minister for the role of women (*Menteri Muda Urusan Peranan Wanita*), and in 1983 this position was upgraded to be State Minister (*Menteri Urusan Peranan Wanita, Men.UPW 1989*). Since 1979 three women have been appointed as the Indonesian Minister for Women's Affairs: Mrs. Lasyiah Sutanto, Mrs. Murpratomo and Mrs. Mien Sugandhi. The last two were former chair persons of Kowani (*Kongres Wanita Indonesia*, Indonesian Women's Congress). From Kowani in Jakarta most of the women's programmes are passed to the provincial level through BKOW, and from BKOW to GOW at the district levels. Besides Kowani, TP-PKK<sup>1</sup> and Dharma Wanita<sup>2</sup> also have their channels to the provincial and district levels where their programmes for women have been implemented.

The word role refers to the activities carried out by people which reflect their status. Role implies concrete activities, and also has a strong connection with social position. According to Whyte and Whyte, observers of Southeast Asia often remark on the high status of women:

... among tribal groups, women have always enjoyed higher status in society, have been able to divorce and remarry, have retained rights to property and the right to raise their children (Whyte and Whyte 1982).

The situation of Rotenese women, however, reveals that the so-called high status is attached to the various roles that women perform in the inner and outer house in accordance with local custom. This thesis shows that Rotenese women devote more time to household activities than do men, and that men are dominant as the income

earners of the household. This observation is not especially novel, unless one considers the distinctive local character of this division of labour and the way it is modified in response to changing circumstances.

In this division of responsibilities, Rotenese women appear to be happy with their role as managers of the house, the family welfare and the health and prosperity of the future generation. That is the reason why Indonesian women have been called 'mothers of the nation' by the Indonesian president Suharto (President Speech 22 December, 1990), and is also the main point of the Indonesian women's organizations which are focused on family welfare, education and income-generation. Indonesian mothers are encouraged to breast-feed their babies until two years old and they are taught how to provide them with nutritious food. They are given training in child development through play in a project called *BKB* (*Bina Keluarga dan Balita* means guidance for the family in developing the baby's physical and mental potential). The aim of this project is to provide a healthy, loving and religious future generation. Both husband and wife are helped and guided to be good parents, in order to keep their family together, to provide the best possible in environment, welfare and education for the children, and ensure good communication between the members of the family. A man can only be promoted to a high position if he has a stable family or sound morals, since in the competition for jobs his character will be taken into account. One of the Dharma Wanita organization's aims is to support husbands so that they may be effective civil servants.

The development projects for Rotenese women are also related to international and national policies for women's development. Planning for women and development is far more popular than planning for gender and development. The goal of emancipation, fundamental for gender planning, is by definition a confrontational approach in many parts of the world. International aspirations for women according to Mosser have five concerns: Welfare, Equity, Anti-Poverty, Efficiency and Empowerment (1993:56-79). These also became the concerns of the Minister for Women's Affairs in Indonesia who seeks to implement them at the national and local



level of women's programmes. The impact on the women's programmes in NTT is primarily in the areas of welfare and anti-poverty. The welfare projects are mostly concerned with women's reproductive roles, whereas anti-poverty strategies are concentrated on women's productive roles.

The welfare plan aims to help women to become better mothers (especially during 1950-1970). Three assumptions are being made: women are objects of development, motherhood is of upreme importance and childrearing is women's most effective role. This is a family centred approach. Many projects have been launched to help women in Rote such as *BKIA* (*Balai Kese Hatan Ibu dan Anak*, Indonesian maternal and child health care), *Puskesmas* (community health center), *ASI* (*Air Susu Ibu*, lit. 'mother's breast milk') and nutrition improvement. These programmes are primarily for pregnant women, breast-feeding mothers and children below the age of 5, *BKB* (*Bina Kelu Arga dan Balita*), *Posyandu* (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu*, integrated health service posts), *PKHA* (*Proyek Kelang Sungan Hidup Anak*, child survival programmes) and *KB* (*Keluarga Berencana*, family planning).

The anti-poverty project is focused on women's productive roles. The projects in Rote are: the family income generation programmes, *UP2K* (*Usaha Peningkatan Pendapatan Keluarga*) concerned with effective marketing of traditional weaving and other handicraft products, collective enterprise *UB* (*Usaha Bersama*) and business enterprise learning groups, *KBU* (*Kelompok Usaha Bersama*). The emphasis is on women's increased economic participation, and this has implications for women as producers and community managers. Most programmes for women in Rote are related to economic development through women's projects such as weaving, handicraft and foodshops.

This chapter examines the programmes for women and development in Rote as the implementation of the development for rural women through *TP-PKK* (*Tim Penggezak Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, Activating Team For Family Welfare Movement). This organization enables women to gain more information than men, since there are no comparable projects for men. Since only 7 per cent of households in

Rote have radio and 2 per cent have television, it is difficult for men to get information from outside. Projects for women deal particularly with their responsibilities in the inner house with regard to subjects within the national philosophy of Pancasila, marriage law, agrarian law, and domestic law, health, family planning, environment and co-operatives, etc. All programmes are coordinated by *TP-PKK*, *Dharma Wanita*, *Wanita GMIT* and the Protestant women's organization (*BKOW/GOW*). They are supported by funding and human resources from the national development budget, *APBN* (*Anggaran pendapatan dan Belanja Negara*) and the regional development budget, *APBD* (*Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Daerah*).

It is hard to get enough funds for their projects for the subdistrict and village level. Most of the projects for women's activities are supported from outside the village either in funding or in expertise. The village women in Rote are the object of development; a special programme is required to allow these women to be the subject of development. The programmes are controlled directly by the women from the subdistrict, district or province. The funds for all development programmes are made available through central government development budgets which have represented the most important resource for the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) and the district of Kupang since the early 1970s.

During the first development plan (*Repelita* I, 1969-1974), the *APBN* and Inpres funds initially had a share of 66% of the total regional development budget, and the regionally available *APBD* funds were 34%. In later plans these budgets were changed to give *APBN* and Inpres 90% and *APBD*, 10% of the whole (*Repelita* II and III, Bappeda Tingkat I NTT). The development funds and investments have resulted in the improvement of the regional economy in general. Emphasis was primarily put on the development of the regional infrastructure, dealing with the government departments of: Public Construction (*Pekerjaan Umum*), Agriculture (*Pertanian*), Education and Culture (*Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*), Energy (*Energy*) and Post and Telecommunications (*Pos dan Telekomunikasi*). Extensive funds have been used in particular on the construction of roads and bridges in the provincial capital and adjoining



areas. Thus these areas have well-improved road networks, while most of the remote villages such as in Rote Timur are very poorly developed in infrastructure and have limited economic resources. In these remote villages women's organizations have tried to fulfil their role in spite of the limitations of skills, funds, human resources, poor roads and transportation.

## **2. Women's Organizations in NTT and Rote**

PKK is one of the women's organizations in Rote that are involved in women's development activities. The others are Dharma Wanita and Wanita GMIT (Protestant women's organization, one of the religious organizations of *GOW/BKOW*).

### **2.1 TP-PKK (Activating Team for Family Welfare)**

*TP-PKK* is a national organization which has been integrally organized to unite and direct activities for the realization of family welfare. Its aim is to promote good family conditions by upgrading and developing the personality and capability of women in general and housewives in particular. *PKK's* programmes are summarized in the 'Ten Basics' Programmes (*Sepuluh Program Pokok PKK*), which aim to create family welfare and a peaceful, secure and prosperous life, physically and mentally, within the Indonesian community system based on Pancasila ideology and the spirit of the 1945 constitution. The Ten Basic Programmes of *PKK* are: 1. Comprehension and practical application of the national philosophy and state ideology of Pancasila (Five principles); 2. Mutual Self-help; 3. Nutritious food; 4. Clothing; 5. Housing and home economics; 6. Education and skill training; 7. Primary health care; 8. Promotion of co-operatives; 9. Protection and conservation of the environment; 10. Appropriate domestic planning (Office of Ministry of Information 1991).

Programmes for women's development in Rote rural areas are led mainly by *PKK* and other non-government-organizations. Most of the *TP-PKK* programmes for women are funded by the government, coordinated by the Rural Development Section in the Governor's office and the district or *bupati* 's office, in collaboration with *TP-PKK* and its *POKJA* or *kelompok kerja* (working group) at each level. All the *POKJA*

members are volunteers, men and women who are interested in rural women's development. *TP-PKK* at every level has four *Pokja* (working groups) and each working group is in charge of a number of programmes of the *TP-PKK's* programmes. *Pokja I*: Pancasila and mutual self help. *Pokja II*: Education and skill training, promotion of co-operatives. *Pokja III*: Food, clothing, housing and home economics. *Pokja IV*: Primary health care, protection and conservation of environment, appropriate domestic planning. Each *Pokja* is supported by the government department which is related to the Programme. For example, health will be related to the Health Department (*Kesehatan*), housing with the department of Public Construction (*Pekerjaan Umum*) and co-operatives with the department of Cooperatives (*Koperasi*). The government department connected with the women's activities gives support at the provincial or district or subdistrict or village level. My observations led me to conclude that programmes will work at the provincial and district level, but there is inadequate support at the subdistrict and village levels. There is progressively less support for programmes the further they are from the initiating level, consequently many programmes fail to make any real impact at village level. Many *Inpres* (*Instruksi Presiden*) projects are announced by the President for the village level, providing an important ceremony to mark the beginning of the project, but they fail to materialize since everything is organized from the upper level. For example the project for *ASI* (*Air Susu Ibu*), mother's breast milk, which encourages mothers to feed their children up to two years of age was announced by the Governor of NTT in Rote in 1989, yet traditionally Rotenese already breast-fed their children for at least three years. The long bureaucratic procedures of the development projects from the national to the villages level and the lack of understanding of rural values results in the villages gaining little from these development plans.

Since Rote is part of Indonesia, the structure of women's organizations can also be traced from the national level to the local level. The programmes of women's organizations are concerned with national and international issues. *TP-PKK* being an organized movement has management boards from national down to village level. (see



Figure 14)

**Figure 14. National Structure of TP-PKK**

TP-PKK Pusat	National Level
TP-PKK Propinsi	Provincial level
TP-PKK Kabupaten	District Level
TP-PKK Pemb. Bupati	Subdistrict Co-ordinator
TP-PKK Kecamatan	Subdistrict Level
TP-PKK Desa	Village Level
Dasawisma	Ten House Group
Rumah Tangga	Household

The *Dasawisma* is a special level for the *TP-PKK*, which has a cadre to record all the members of a group of ten houses. The cadre is trained from *TP-PKK* in order to make correct records of the number of illiterates, babies under five years of age (*Balita*), fertile couples, pregnant women, the sick, diseases, and how many older people have cataracts. These records are sent first to the village level, then to the subdistrict level on to the coordinator of the subdistrict and finally to the district level. On the basis of these records the women at the district level will compile programmes and attempt to solve the problems of the *Dasawisma*. For example, once in two years, the leader of the *TP-PKK* at the provincial level arranges a free operation and free spectacles for older people who have cataract in the province. Information will then passed through to various levels to all villages telling them to contact all those eligible for free treatment. Minor ailments can be dealt with a subdistrict level, such as problems relating to pregnancy, advice about birth control and malnutrition. The integrated health service post, *Posyandu* (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu*), who operates once a week in the villages, provides treatment from doctors, nurses and midwives. The illiterate are offered a special course for reading and writing, called *Kejar Paket A* (*Kelompok Belajar Paket A*, a study group), taught by a teacher or a trained member of

TP-PKK in the village. After finishing *Paket A*, they move to *Paket B*, where they will be trained to work together with other women in a small business, learning how to make money through a collective enterprise or *UB (Usaha Bersama)* by weaving, or by rearing pigs, sheep and goats. *TP-PKK* have more opportunities to operate among the villagers, while the *Wanita GMT* works among the women of the churches in the villages.

## 2.2 Dharma Wanita Nusa Tenggara Timur

Dharma Wanita is the organization for wives of civil servants. It was founded on August 5, 1974, during a national meeting. Dharma Wanita focuses more on the wives of the civil servants, usually up to the subdistrict level, since civil servants are only found in subdistrict offices, except in the urban areas. Dharma Wanita was installed in the 27 Provinces of Indonesia, including NTT, in November 16, 1979, by the Presidential Decree No. 013/PRES/KP/1979. Figure 15 shows the organization and structure of Dharma Wanita NTT. The number of Dharma Wanita Units in national and provincial level can be seen in Appendix IV.

**Figure 15. The Organizational Structure of Dharma Wanita NTT**

### **Dharma Wanita of NTT Province**

#### **Dharma Wanita of Kupang District**

##### **Dharma Wanita sub-office for Rote and Ndao**

6 Dharma Wanita Subdistricts of Rote

66 Dharma Wanita of Villages

The organizational structure of Dharma Wanita is classified into three levels namely national or central, provincial and district/municipality (*Wali Kōta*). The management formation consists of the executives (general chairman, chairman, assistant, builder trainer, adviser), staff secretary, treasurer and programme processing officer (sectors or sections).

Dharma Wanita participates in NTT development in various forms of activity



related to welfare, education, information, service, population and family planning, development of basic education and security, and assimilation of Pancasila. Other activities are manifested in the form of joint cooperation with departments and government institutions such as the national family planning coordinating board, *BKKBN* (*Badan Koordinator Keluarga Berencana Nasional*, National Coordination Board for Family Planning). In 1993 *BKKBN* became the Department of Family Planning, Department of Education and Culture, Department of Religion and Department of Information.

The basic programmes which had priority for 1990/1991 were: family welfare consisting of women and child health care; improvement of family nutrition; socializing community *BKB*; participation of Dharma Wanita in young generation programme (TP-PKK, 1991:65-85).

Every year the priority of the basic programme will change depending on the need of national and regional planning. That is the reason why every level of women's organization has a planning board. The women involved have to supply data for the decision makers for a yearly plan for women: thus women make programmes for women. Some times the programme is excellent, but implementation faces many problems in the field. The proliferation of women's organisations, often with overlapping functions can lead to inefficiency. Objective research and evaluation of projects is rarely carried out, because women do not want to be evaluated by their own team. The evaluation team comes from the national level, but it cannot touch the real facts, since everything is made to appear in perfect order before the team arrives. An over concern with the form rather than the substance of development may inhibit the introduction of effective improvements. In the villages on Rote, there is still little chance for Dharma Wanita to operate, except with the officer at the head of the subdistrict and his staff, but since they also belong to the *TP-PKK*, they could move outside their government officials' wives' role and participate in *TP-PKK*'s village projects.

2.3 BKOW Nusa Tenggara Timur

*BPOW (Badan Penghububng Organisasi Wanita)* NTT, meaning 'The Contact Body of Women Organizations' in NTT, was officially founded on 27 February 1979, to accommodate other womens' organizations in NTT. BKOW was composed of functional, professional, religious and social groups which were integrated into a unified organization in order to function effectively, under the initiative of Dr. Mrs. Nafsiah Mboi, DSA.

In 1985, six years later, *BPOW* was renamed *BKOW* meaning Women's Cooperative Council (*Badan Kerjasama Organisasi Wanita*), designated as a province level organization applicable throughout Indonesia. At district level, *BKOW* is subsequently represented by the Federation of Women Organizations (*GOW*) which is engaged in similar functions. There are 27 *BKOW*, one for each of the 27 provinces in Indonesia, and a number of *GOW* at the district levels according to the number of districts in each Province.

The following schematic diagram shows the relationship between the organization at the national, provincial and district level:

Figure 16. The Structure of KOWANI and BKOW

KOWANI (Jakarta) BKOW (Kupang) GOW ((12 Districts in NTT)	National Level Provincial Level District Level
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The relationship between *KOWANI* and *BKOW*, and between *BKOW* and *GOW* is primarily informative and consultative in nature. Everything carried out in Jakarta concerned with women, is passed on through *BKOW*, and then from *BKOW* to *GOW* at the district level. *BKOW* is considered necessary by all women's



organizations in *NTT*. Every year the number of the organizations involved increases, as is noted below. Planning rather than implementation remains the overarching concern of Indonesian bureaucrats.

The functional organization is an organization whose members are composed of wives linked to one another because of their husbands' position in the government. This organization is based on the husband's function in the military or as a civil servant. Professional organizations are composed of women of similar profession, such as the business women's association, *IWAPI (Ikatan Wanita Pengusaha Indonesia)*, the Midwives Association, *IBI (Ikatan Bidan Indonesia)*, and the Indonesian Teacher's Association, *PGRI (Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia, seksi Wanita)*.

**Table 42. Women's Organization of BKOW-NTT 1982-1991**

Year	Types of	Women's	Organization
Total	Functional	Professional	Religious Social
1982	29	1	7 1 18
1985	29	1	7 5 42
1988	29	3	7 5 44
1991	35	4	7 9 55

Source. BKOW NTT 1991.

Religious organisations bring together women of the same religions such as: the Protestant Womens' Association, *PWKI (Persatuan Wanita Kristen Indonesia)*, the Catholic Women's Association, (*Wanita Katolik*), the Protestant Women's Organization of the Timor Churches (*Wanita GMIT*), the Moslem Women Muhamadyah (*Wanita Islam Muhamadyah*), the Moslem Women's Association (*Aisyah*), the Christian Missionaries Women's Association (*Wanita Masehi*) and a widows' organization called Manna (*manna* is the name of the bread given to the Jews when they were on the move from Egypt to Kana'an). Social organizations contain women who are attracted to activities in the community aimed at improving members' welfare such as *YDKS (Yayasan Dana Kesejahteraan Social)*, an institution for social welfare funds.

*BKOW* in *NTT* regrouped their programmes in four sections (1988-1991),

each section developing programmes to increase the organization's function. First, the organizational section covering: organization consolidation; field visits to members of organizations; establishing and contacting *GOW* in the districts. Second, educational section covering: the *BKB* (comprehensive child development) programmes, *LKW*, *latihan kepemimpinan wanita* (leadership training for women), *Kadarkum* (law awareness for women). Third, the socio-economic and cultural section covering: promoting cooperatives among members, increasing family income generation by forming 30 collective enterprises, promoting Ina Bo'i Women's Hall<sup>3</sup> for the public, upgrading for a healthy environment and promoting non-rice food. Fourth, public relations and library provision including improving reading habits among women and promoting all women's programmes through available opportunities.

Activities carried out by *BKOW* of *NTT* include those coordinated by each section of the organization. First, guiding and encouraging members to increase their participation in the national development by encouraging them to join one of the women's projects offered by the sections mentioned above. Second, organizing community education for women and young girls especially with regard to family welfare. Third, improving and preserving national cultural arts, particularly of *NTT*. Fourth, soliciting funds for victims of natural disasters, regional and nationwide. Fifth, establishing institutions; for example *YKW* (a foundation for women's business activities) to support women's activities in *NTT*, currently managing Ina Bo'i women's hall and dormitory.

While the ideas behind these programmes are excellent, the hierarchical structure makes implementation difficult. This leads to misinterpretation since, for example, in Rote it would be necessary to go through at least eight levels of organization in order to have something clarified from the highest level. The leaders of the organization at the national level have no clear idea about how the programmes they initiate from the top affect the women at village level all over Indonesia. This unwieldy structure also presents difficulties in obtaining correct information from the villages, since women at provincial level also depend on the reports sent from the bottom. Most of the annual



reports are sent to the various levels, repeatedly compiled, until they eventually arrive at the top. Conversely, information and instructions from the top must pass down through all the levels to reach the villages. The range between the top and the bottom is very wide, especially for Rote and Lembata in NTT, because an additional level, that of assistant Bupati (*Pembantu Bupati*) is added making the range wider and more complicated. If Rote and Lembata<sup>4</sup> (another assistant regency in Flores Timur) each became a district, one level would be deleted. The width of range between the levels means more time must be allowed for information to reach the people in the villages. This should be taken into account in the development planning at the National and Provincial level. Some of the *BKOW/GOW* organization are non-government organizations, which means that all their projects are funded by themselves, sometimes with additional funding from the government. *Wanita GMIT*, one of the *BKOW* organizations is also funded by the Churches in Indonesia or local churches (*GMIT*). In Indonesia the line between governmental and non-governmental organisations is often blurred, and local intellectuals sometimes refer amusingly to the existence of Governmental NGOs.

### 3. Women's Programmes in NTT (Including Rote)

*TP-PKK, Dharma Wanita* and *BKOW* activities in NTT including Rote can be seen in the following table, but some of the activities are peculiar to Rote.

**Table 43. Women's Organization's Activities in NTT 1988-1990 (including Rote)**

Activity	TP-PKK (%)	BKOW(%)	DH.Wanita(%)
1.Mental and Spiritual	10	10	14
2.Social Welfare	7	6	9
3.Art and Culture	16	6	1
4.Economic and Cooperative	7	6	4
5.Education and training	11	7	6
6.Health and Family planning	10	11	8
7.Environment	3	5	1
8.Law	1	4	17
9.Research and Development	1	0	0
10.Upgrading and Institutional Building	14	21	13
11.Publication and Information	20	24	27*
Total	100	100	100

Source: TP-PKK NTT 1991

The analysis of women's organizations in NTT can be achieved by examining the types of activity of each organization. These activities fall into 11 classes (see table 43). Not every woman's organization in NTT emphasises the same programmes; they take the programmes related to their needs and the aims of their organization. First, the most popular activities of women's organizations dealt with publication and information (20%-27%), of which the highest is Dharma Wanita (27%), and the lowest is *PKK* (20%). Second, few organizations are interested in research and development, *BKOW* and Dharma Wanita show no interest (0%), while *PKK* is only 1%. Third, *TP-PKK* gives highest attention (16%) to programmes concerned with art and culture, including developing high quality weaving. They achieve this by extending funds and materials assistance to various weaving groups in NTT. Here again Dharma Wanita is the lowest (1%). Fourth, *TP-PKK* gives the greatest attention to health and family planning programmes (21%), while Dharma Wanita has the lowest (8%). Fifth, *BKOW/GOW* has a high take-up of programmes of upgrading and institution building (21%), Dharma Wanita the lowest (13%). Sixth, Dharma Wanita shows a high interest in the programme of law awareness (18%), while *TP-PKK* shows only 1%.

Table 43 shows that *TP-PKK* gives more attention to programmes relating to rural women's activities, such as art and culture, including improvement of the traditional weaving activities related to income generation, health and family planning, especially Maternal and Child Health Care (*KIA*) and the Child Survival Programme (*PKHA*). This interest arises from women's concern for activities connected with the inner house.

The study of mental and spiritual activities is based on two subjects, Pancasila and religion. Almost every organization is encouraged to regard this section as their most important activity, since the basis of every organization is the state philosophy. 87.92% of women's organizations in NTT are involved in these activities, such as lectures, sharing ideas and simulation. 85.20% undertake the activities relating to religion such as Koran reading groups, mass circumcision, Bible studies, recollection and retreats, and celebration of religious days (Christmas, Idulfitri, Waisak etc).



The social welfare activities consist of two sections. First, 58.20% of activities in the charity section are concerned with giving assistance to orphanages, poor families, and the victims of natural disasters, and providing school fees for the handicapped and the children of inadequate families. Second, 3.41% of activities are concerned with self-reliant activities. The art and cultural activities fall into two sections, first, 78.58% development activities covering establishing, managing and training workshops for traditional dances and second, 85.71% developing high quality weaving and small scale industries.

The economic and cooperatives implement the upgrading of family income generating programmes by *TP-PKK* with a participation rate of around 78.57% participating, particularly in *UP2K* (Family Income Generating Programme). This is implemented in the form of effective marketing of traditional weaving and other member's handicraft products; 21.36% of the organization is active in this programme. 13.31% are active in cooperatives, while religious organizations constitute 12.12%, Dharma Wanita 13.68%, *BKOW/GOW* 20.00%, professional organizations 10.00%, social welfare organizations 16.16%, and *TP-PKK* 14.29%, mostly related to collective enterprise (*UB, Usaha Bersama*) and the business enterprise learning group (*KBU Kelompok Belajar Usaha*). The data indicates that cooperative programmes are carried out by *BKOW* (20%). The *BKOW* membership is made up of the wives of civil servants and also women from non-government organizations. Through *UB (Usaha Bersama* collective enterprise) and *KBU (Kelompok Belajar Usaha*, business enterprise learning group), women can increase their income and at the same time learn to read and write.

The educational and training programmes involve 58% of the organization, and this includes training activities for secretarial and treasury staffs, *TP-PKK* trainers, volunteer personnel for health and family planning, Posyandu (integrated health service post) cadres, training for developing small home industries such as pottery and various kinds of souvenirs. 60.26% of these programmes are concentrated on in-training activities for illiteracy and accelerated reading and writing education (*Kejar Paket A*),

activities for handicrafts, and women's household skills such as embroidery, sewing, cooking, etc. These programmes are the concern of various groups as follows: 61.81% by *PKK*; 60.00% by *BKOW/GOW*. Educational and training programmes are carried out mainly by *TP-PKK* (61%) at the village level in order to train women for domestic work and to reduce the level of illiteracy. These programmes enabled the level of illiteracy among women to fall from 21 per cent in urban areas and 42 per cent in rural areas in 1980 to 11 per cent and 26 per cent respectively in 1994. Therefore, the female-male disparity in literacy declined from 14 to 7 per cent in urban areas and from 24 to 15 per cent in rural areas (Sugandhi 1995).

Overall 78.02% of women's organizations participate in health and family planning programmes. The percentage levels regarding the spread of information and amount of effort expended are recorded as 92.86% by *TP-PKK*; 89.74% by *Dharma Wanita*; 70.00% by *BKOW/GOW*.

Programmes for nutrition improvement are primarily for pregnant women and breast-feeding mothers, and children below the age of five (*Balita*). Maternal and child health care (*KIA*) and child survival programmes (*PKHA*) are taken very seriously and integrated with various kinds of activities at *Posyandu*, where *TP-PKK* plays a significant role as indicated below: 100% by *PKK* at all levels, 65.00% by professional organizations, 60.81% by *Dharma Wanita*, 36.36% by religious organizations and 33.33% by social welfare organizations. Indonesia has been successful in improving the health of the population. The infant mortality rate (IMR) fell significantly from around 98 deaths per 1,000 girls under the age of five in 1980 to 52 in 1993 (Sugandhi 1995). The family life expectancy at birth has increased from 54 years in 1980 to 64 years in 1993, which is higher than that of men. This is an indication that the Indonesian culture no longer has preference for sons.

The environmental programme consists of re-greening activities, healthy environment, sanitation and hygiene. In re-greening activities such as planting perennial plants, vegetables and marketable plants, active performance is noted as follows; 28.57% by *PKK*; 3.03% by religious organizations; 1.28% by *Dharma*



Wanita. In education about a healthy environment, active effort along the lines noted is 40.00% by *BKOW/GOW*.

Law awareness programmes including legal assistance, are extended through activities concerning educational information and improving understanding of Law no.1/1973 and Government Regulation No.10/1983 and handling related cases. They are executed mostly by Dharma Wanita as shown below: 33.33% by Dharma Wanita, 8.32% by social welfare organizations, 3.03% by religious organizations. Information related to laws and corresponding clarification is undertaken through the activities of family law awareness programmes (*Kadarkum, Keluarga Sadar Hukum*) organized by *BKOW* and Dharma Wanita, which attain a participation rate of 40%.

With regard to research and development programmes available data shows that only 7.14% of *PKK* had undertaken research activities. The advancement programmes for the development of professional organizations were undertaken by 30% of *Himpunan Wanita Karya* as one of the professional organizations.

Cooperation and coordination concerning links between organizations and with other government sectors reached 96.59%. Activities involving leadership and management training and cadre formation are shown as follows: 78.57% by *TP-PKK*, 50% by *BKOW*; 20% by professional organizations, 12.12% by religious organizations, 5.59% by Dharma Wanita. The uptake of seminar and workshop activities implemented by *TP-PKK* is 7.14%. The effort to strengthen the commitment by women to work with these organizations has reached 80.50%.

The publication programme by *TP-PKK* has reached 79.26%, including 'Krida Ina' bulletin and a book called *Inang Hidup dan Baktiku* (Mother, My Life and Dedication). Collecting photos, clippings and organizing village library or village reading centres has reached 87.93%. Publishing is undertaken as follows: 100% by *TP-PKK*, 98.29% by Dharma Wanita, 70% by *BKOW*; 60% by professional organizations, 58.33% by social welfare organizations, 42.42% by religious organizations. Bulletin *Krida Ina* is the only reading material prepared by women for women, especially for rural women in the remote areas. *TP-PKK* tried very hard to

meet the rural women's needs, but it requires other methods to increase women's interest in reading the bulletin. This apparent lack of interest is due to economic circumstances. Village women cannot afford to pay for the bulletins, whereas if the publications were free, they would be happy to profit by the information.

#### **4. TP-PKK Programmes in Rote-Ndao 1991-1992**

These programmes are regrouped according to the Pokja, the Working Group which is their responsibility. There are four Working Groups (*Pokja, Kelompok Kerja*), designed to improve family welfare through informal education.

1. *Pokja I* (Working Group I): Pancasila as national ideology and religion.

The Programmes are:

##### *I. Pancasila*

1. Talks about Pancasila and discussion with the members of PKK and the audience.
2. The formation of discussion groups to consider the practical implications of Pancasila.
3. Talks about the marriage law.
4. Learning how to handle the younger generation, especially juvenile delinquents and narcotics problems.
5. Seminars about religious toleration.

##### *II. Mutual Self-help (Gotong Royong)*

1. Information about the benefits of putting aside a handful of rice when cooking in order to raise money for special occasions.
2. Information about the benefits of forming a group for mutual self-help, for obtaining clean water supplies, a TP-PKK garden, etc.

##### *Pokja II* (Working Group II)

Education and Training programmes:

1. Monitoring the group using Paket A (basic reading and writing courses)



2. Forming groups for child and family guidance (*BKB*)
3. Forming family income generation groups (*UP2K*).
4. Guiding and instructing the group in family income generation, *UP2K*.
5. Demonstrating the varieties of non-rice food in order to encourage people to move away from dependence on rice as staple food.
6. Information about the benefit of medicinal plants, and home gardens especially for vegetables and herbs.
7. Information and demonstrations about the diversification of household menus.

### *Pokja III ( Working Group III )*

#### Clothing, Food and Housing Programmes:

1. Demonstrations about making clothes, to reduce the cost of buying children's clothes.
2. Showing weavers how to increase the quality of traditional woven cloths.
3. Information and demonstrations about: disposal of household rubbish, making family latrines, fencing the animals, creating a 'living fence' with vegetables.
4. Use of clean water for cooking, washing or household purposes (*MCK, masak, cuci, kakus*).

### *Pokja IV ( Working Group IV)*

#### Health and Environmental Programmes:

1. Information about the benefit of the integrated health service post, *Posyandu (Pos Pelayanan Terpadu)* once a week in the villages. Babies under five years of age, pregnant women and the sick are encouraged to come for consultations with a doctor, a midwife and a nurse. There are several health trained volunteer cadres to serve in *posyandu*.
2. Information about breast feeding a baby until 2-3 years in order to keep the baby healthy, *ASI (Air Susu Ibu)*.
3. Information about nutrition, immunization and birth control.

4. Instruction about the administration of the health section, such as keeping a book recording the birth and death of babies, and the physical condition of the baby at the *Posyandu*.
5. Competition for the best administration among the *Posyandu* of the villages.
6. Competition for the healthiest baby, held once a year, usually on Mother's Day 22 December .
7. Formation and monitoring of the *Dasawisma* groups.
8. Information about the need for a good environment.
9. Information about saving money in the Bank (*Bank Rayat Indonesia* ).

These programmes were carried out by *TP-PKK* for Rote in the Financial Year 1991/1992 (1 April 1991-31 March 1992). The programmes are more comprehensive than those of the other two organizations, since Dharma Wanita only works in the town, and Wanita GMIT only operates for church members. Indonesia was offered the Maurice Pate Award for UNICEF and Sasakawa Health Price from the WHO in 1988. According to Mrs. Mien Sugandhi the Indonesian Minister of the Role of Women, the success of the family welfare movement (*TP-PKK*) is due to the tireless effort of women all over Indonesia. She also stated in her speech at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, September 5, 1995:

Obviously, there will be no advancement of women without development, and no development without full and equal participation of women and men (September 1995).

The socio-economic conditions of the three subdistricts of Rote in which the women's programmes are implemented are indicative of conditions in the whole of Rote. The conditions of subdistrict Rote Tengah and Rote Barat Daya are better than Rote Timur. Owing to the high percentage of illiteracy in Rote Timur, the economy there places more emphasis on agriculture and lontar tapping (83%), while only 2% are employed as civil servants, compared to Rote Tengah (31%) and Rote Barat Daya (15%). The primary school teachers constitute the highest percentage of civil servants in the three subdistricts. The whole programme of *TP-PKK* can be regrouped into 6 sections in order to fit with the programmes of the three women's organizations in Rote.



#### **4.1. Mental and Spiritual Programme**

*TP-PKK* and Dharma Wanita make this programme their priority in Rote. The programme includes lecturing, discussion and simulation taking the form of group work among women in a village. Women are interested in playing in a simulation group with a topic concerned with one of the principles of Pancasila. This programme is run in collaboration with the Department of Education and the office of the Assistant of *Bupati* in Ba'a.

The other programme is for mutual self help among the women in the villages, such as fund raising by collecting a handful of rice every day from every member of the group. Every week one of the women collects the rice, and when they have enough they sell it, the money being used to help someone in need or for celebrating a national day. Moslems can use the money for the general circumcision. These programmes emphasise mental and spiritual building. The simulation group for practicing and applying Pancasila in solving social problems is followed by women only, who are very active in these groups, even though they cannot express themselves verbally. Women gain more than men in this situation, since the authorities usually claim quite wrongly that men already have this knowledge. Sometimes men also want to attend the talks, but they do not take it seriously, thinking it is merely a women's project.

#### **4.2. Economic/Cooperative Programme**

Family income improvement : *UP2K (Peningkatan Pendapatan Keluarga)* takes the form of effective marketing of traditional weaving and other handicraft products. The women are taught a variety of skills such as cooking, sewing, embroidery and making crystal sugar (*gula semut*) from sugar palm. Then they form a *KBU* (Business enterprise learning group), where members are trained to run a small business through learning together; when they are efficient enough they can start on their own. *UP2K* form groups of *UP2K* and *KBU* in the villages, train and support them with a little money for setting up businesses. The schemes are administered by *TP-PKK* and the head of the villages. Through *UP2K* and *KBU* the women learn to work in co-

operatives specially designed for them. The co-operative can work as a saving bank and lend money to members. This programme gives the women a chance to engage in many activities to increase the family income. These projects are useful to the Rotenese women, helping them to acquire many skills related to women's domestic or inner house activities such as: cooking nutritious food, attempting new non-rice menus, crocheting and sewing, and improving the quality of weaving and dyeing. In Rote Barat Daya women can use their cooking skills for the tourist trade or sew many kinds of small gifts for the art shop, thus promoting their crocheting work. In Ba'a, an economic group of Ndaonese called Janur Kuning, depends largely on the women's weaving. Men are skilled goldsmiths and carpenters, and they also are involved in marketing.

#### **4.3. Educational and Training Programmes**

This programme includes illiteracy eradication, literacy programmes and cadre training for *PKK* programmes, such as health, economics, education, administration and finance. Women are trained and educated in many ways. Illiterates learn to read and write; women learn about traditional medicinal plants and how to treat sick children, how to make children's school uniforms if they cannot afford to buy them; they also learn how to administer their finances when running a small business as *UP2K*. All these skills are helpful for women both in their inner and outer house activities. They also learn to make many kinds of cake which they can sell at the food shop in LalukoEn.

#### **4.4. Health and Family Planning Programme**

This programme consists of: family planning, nutrition and infant health care, overcoming contagious diseases, traditional medication and clean water supplies. There are many projects concerned with mother and children such as maternal and child care (*BKIA*), child survival project (*PKHA*), integrated health service posts (*Posyandu*), medicinal plants (*Toga = Tanaman Obat Keluarga*) and kitchen gardens (*dapur hidup*). To show the advantages they have gained by their training, they organize a competition among themselves for the healthiest baby, the best kept garden and medicinal plants and



the creation of non-rice household menus. These competitions encourage them to take the programmes seriously.

#### **4.5. Environment**

These activities include: re-greening, healthy environment and sanitation and hygiene. This important project encourages women to plant at least one tree in their garden. Every family has their own rubbish hole in their back yard. A group of women also take care of one water resource such as a spring, cleaning it in turn in order to get pure water for the household. When water resources are sufficient, women are compelled to engage in vegetable cultivation for cash. They are encouraged to save the environment by protecting their water resources, since water is essential for so many of the women's activities.

#### **4.6. Law Programme**

This programme is concerned with educational information and improving the understanding of law. The project called *kadarkum (keluarga sadar hukum)* provides further information related to law and corresponding clarifications are undertaken through law awareness activities, especially for the marriage law, so that women understand their rights in marriage, or in other problems such as agrarian law.

#### **4.7. Rotating Credit among women**

This is a programme coordinated by the BKOW women's organization cooperating with the Education department and the Bank Rakyat Indonesia. The Education department provides business training and the BRI gives financial support. In this case BKOW had an organization MANA especially for widows, which set up three groups of women with five to seven women in each group, one of which was the leader and another the secretary who kept records for the group. The initial three groups were for pig rearing, weaving and a corner shop. The idea was that each group was given Rp 200,000 to invest, which they would repay in monthly instalments, so that after ten months another group could be funded.

Here I follow the fortunes of Mrs Pellokila's group who took up pig breeding. They bought ten small pigs for Rps. 100,000, which were distributed among the seven members to rear, each member looking after one or two pigs. The remaining money they put in the Women's Cooperative as a reserve on which members of the group could draw at low interest if they needed working capital, to buy pig food for example. Initially they found it hard to find the monthly repayments and even after they were given three months grace, it was still difficult because they needed a six month period to fatten the pigs to sell in the market. Though the scheme is still in its early stages, they are now selling pigs at Rp. 30,000 to Rp. 50,000 and have repaid their initial loan. This is a good example of how women at grassroots level are being empowered with capital and business skills which enable them to gain additional income whilst still carrying out traditional tasks.

## **5. The impact of development on women**

Rotenese women's lives are being radically changed by education, development schemes, new technology and women's organizations. Women today have the same educational opportunities as men, so that we find female teachers even in remote villages. Thus for example the woman teacher in Puamata is one of the best educated persons in the village, and as such is an important organiser in village activities. Because of her career, she relies on help from her mother and other female kin to look after her children and home. At the other extreme, young women find even a modest education enables them to get work in domestic service away from home, for example with Chinese traders and civil servants in Kupang.

Improved transport increases work opportunities, and also allows more active use of markets for trade and shopping. Women can now travel alone, and can save time previously spent in walking. The introduction of waterpumps and in some places piped water supplies, reduces the time spent on the chore of water carrying. The mechanical rice-huller saves on the endless hours previously spent on pounding paddy. Electricity and kerosene for lighting and stoves, save time on firewood collecting and ease



domestic work. Plastic containers have conveniently replaced some heavy pottery which was previously made by the women themselves.

Some of this time saved has to be used for earning cash to pay for the new technology, hence the importance of schemes run by women's organisations, but it can also produce surplus. Some of this money a woman can now see as her own, as opposed to family income, and use it for cosmetics and clothes. Purchasing cloth relieves an increasing number of women from weaving their family's requirements. Increased cash income is leading the trend towards houses for nuclear families. While many such families will have a live-in kinswoman as domestic help for a career wife, this also marks a trend towards a redistribution of domestic tasks between husband and wife.

All these changes have important consequences for relations between women. As we have seen in earlier chapters, and in the daily activities outlined in Appendix VIII, a woman traditionally relied on her kin, affines and neighbours for assistance in many activities. Now her need for such help is largely in child care, as she attends training courses, involves herself in development schemes and takes up paid work. The physical gains from rice-hullers and improved water supply for example, involve the loss of interaction with other women when pounding rice and chatting at the water source. Empowerment may mean increased personal freedoms and improved living standards, but it also means more interaction with people who have less personal obligation towards one than family and neighbours.

## 6. Summary and Conclusion

The role of women in Rote in development is focused on the role of women in the programmes of women's organizations, especially *TP-PKK*. There are many programmes for women implemented by women; thus it follows that women become better informed than men in many areas; education, law, health, birth control, environment organization management, small business skills, weaving, non-rice menus etc. Since these skills are related to women's activities in the inner house men are not concerned. The problem is how to involve men in the activities concerned with

development. Most of them are involved in traditional agriculture and lontar tapping, and lack access to radio, television and newspapers. So, the situation of men must also be taken into account for development information. The high percentage of illiterates means people, especially men, are not interested in reading. Only 7% of Rotenese own a radio and 2% a television and thus useful information cannot easily be disseminated by the media. Most are also too poor to afford newspapers.

The socio-economic condition of Rote poses the question of how to raise the level of absorption of information addressed to the people. Information on development needs to be followed by practical example. That is why simulation groups are very attractive to the women. The other important point is that when the information is related to the inner house, to everyday life it is easy to absorb and is understandable. For example the *ASI* project is part of the Rotenese tradition of feeding the baby for two to three years. Medicinal plants are very important to women because they do not have to be bought from chemist's shops. Educated people have migrated to get good, well paid jobs outside Rote. This also has to be taken into account by the regional planning boards in the district and Province.

The problem is that the information about development projects have not been addressed to men. Ideally, both genders should have the same opportunity to be involved, not only the head of the village, but also the other men, the husbands whose wives are involved in the development projects. For instance, the Family Planning department should give information about birth control and contraception to both men and women, since if only women received the knowledge men remain blind to the importance of contraception. This is the reason why only women are involved in birth control, while very few men use contraceptives either at the provincial or district level (see table 32).

Successful implementation of all these programmes will only be achieved if the hierarchical structure can be modified since the gap between those who initiate policy and those who implement it is so great that time, money and effort is wasted and evaluation is difficult.



## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> PKK is the abbreviation for *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Movement). It is a national organization which has been integrally organized to unite and direct activities for the realization of family welfare. PKK's programme is without doubt one of the most important programmes and was presented as a programme of a non-political women's movement (Gerke 1993:53). PKK-NTT was established on July 14, 1972 based on the Governor's decision letter no.46/1972 (TP-PKK NTT 1991).

<sup>2</sup>Dharma Wanita is an association of wives of civil servants of various organizations existing under each department, non-departmental government institutions and government-owned banks from the central down to regional levels. In 1979 there were 19 organizations whose members are wives of the Indonesian civil servants (see Appendix IV). At the first national conference of Dharma Wanita in Jakarta on May 30-31, 1979 it was decided that all existing organizations were voluntarily merged into one associated organization, Dharma Wanita, abolishing the 19 organization's independent identities (TP-PKK NTT 1991).

<sup>3</sup>Ina Bo'i is the name of the women's hall in Kupang, and it derives from a Rotenese word meaning 'loving mother'.

<sup>4</sup>Rote and Lembata have each had a *Pembantu Bupati* since 1968. The *Pembantu Bupati* was intended as a temporary office in the transition to a district headed by a *Bupati*. It is 27 years now, but the status has not changed. The structure organization of TP-PKK is similar to the structure of the government of NTT, with an additional level, the level of '*Pembantu Bupati*'.

## CHAPTER NINE

### CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter I intend to provide an over-arching summary and bring together the main themes of the thesis. This study set out to investigate gender relations in Rotenese social organization and also to see the role of Rotenese women in development. It also looked at the impact of development on the socio-economic condition of Rote. I analysed the complementary nature of gender relations among the Rotenese, and how Rotenese culture has been subject to many dualistically inclined interpretations. This dualism, so fundamental to all aspects of Rotenese life, makes it impossible to study women in isolation from men; the gender metaphor prevails at all levels of discourse in Rotenese society. At first sight this dualism provides a sense of opposition, but is revealed on closer examination to be complementary, in which the two halves make a complete whole.

The thesis began by introducing the analytical issues to be covered and by providing a detailed discussion of the research methodology. This was followed by a chapter on the island's geography and socio-economic background. This basic information provided the context needed for the development of the main arguments.

The first theme was the political system of Rote with its traditional titles and the clan (*leo*) system. The history of Dutch colonialism and its impact on the traditional political formation was examined, showing how the colonial government influenced the political system of modern Rote, building on the traditional domains (*nusak*). Under the Dutch, the *nusak* and the *manek* were reorganised. The creation of the office of the *manek-feto* (lit. female lord) led to the formation of a dual sovereignty using the gender metaphor in which the *manek* and *manek-feto* had complementary powers. The *manek* was associated with the outer house or maleness, and the *manek-feto* to the inner house or femaleness. The Dutch probably did not fully understand how the indigenous system worked and appear to have been content to adapt existing institutions providing



they did not conflict with Dutch interests. The creation of dual sovereignty in each domain (*nusak*) was accepted by the Rotenese because it suited the dualistic and complementary inclination of Rotenese culture.

In this case gender served as a metaphor for politics. Rotenese women exercise political power through their kinship links, especially by the alliance system of marriage in the form of wife-takers and wife-givers. During the colonial period the women's role in politics was not mentioned or recorded. Since politics is an 'outer house' activity and since the Dutch only recognized the role of men, they did not encourage women to participate in politics. However, there is evidence that Rotenese women did participate in politics. For example, Rotenese oral tradition (*tutui te'ek*) tells of a women leader called Abe Sain in *nusak* Ringgou. This is an interesting area that needs further research through the examination of Rotenese oral histories recited by the *manahelo* (chanter). The Dutch might have contributed to the decline and the eventual extinction of female leaders in Rote. During the colonial period the Dutch only paid attention to the outer house activities such as politics. The Dutch changed the construction and function of the traditional *nusak* and leadership, but they did not change the inner house conditions where the women had power to control and manage. Women, therefore, became the bearers of local traditions and were intimately involved in the construction and maintenance of Rotenese identity. The enforcement of borders based on *nusaks* which led to each *nusak* asserting its individuality, ultimately leading to disunity. Each *nusak* became too proud of their own identity and each tried to think of its differences from rather than its similarities to other *nusaks*. Rotenese identity was latent, only re-emerging when circumstances changed with the rise of the multi-ethnic state of Indonesia.

The system created by the Dutch remained until 1962. When independence was gained, Rote was incorporated into the state system which abolished the traditional domains and replaced them with subdistricts on the national model. With independence the positions of *manek* and *manek-feto* were abolished. Several *nusak* become one subdistrict and the six subdistricts of Rote were coordinated by one assistant regent

(*Pembantu Bupati*) so overriding the principle of dualism. This cumbersome administrative structure has resulted in policies not being effectively carried out, which in turn has had an adverse effect on the programmes for women's development. Based on the Javanese model, the Indonesian administrative system is not closely attuned to local forms of social organisation. The Indonesian system is geared to the needs of a major unitary state and is thus not very responsive to local needs and initiatives.

The second theme explored in the thesis was kinship and marriage. Rotenese family structure, marriage and bridewealth were discussed and how the Rotenese ideas of male descent and female affiliation were explained with reference to Fox's research. According to Fox, 'they conceive of male lines [as] permanent and persisting and female lines are brief in duration and ever changing' (Fox 1980:131). This actually points to the different but complementary nature of gender relations in different contexts among the Rotenese. It also shows the importance given to relatives of both males and females. But a different picture emerges when national development is taken into consideration, especially with regard to the changing clan systems and the growing importance and permanence of women's organizations.

In a Rotenese marriage both the bride and bridegroom have their own property and rights. A woman does not leave her parents' house empty handed. She brings something (*bua ana fetu, bua fua uma and lepakai*) from her parent's house. She also inherits property upon her marriage and this property remains her own until her death, upon which her daughter will inherit. The property might be returned to her parents' family if she does not have a daughter. Her family also sponsors a large feast for the wedding (*belis sao mba*). The groom pays bridewealth to the bride's parents before he brings his bride to his house. The existence of bridewealth and bride service in Rotenese marriage transactions indicates the high status of women in this culture.

After marriage a wife is offered the right to manage her husband's house. In a traditional house the women's space is in the western part of the house next to the hearth (*ra'o dale or uma dalek*). This is also the woman's workplace where activities such as weaving are conducted. From the women's space there is a ladder to the loft



where the harvest is stored. Thus only the women have the right to control the harvest that has been brought into the house. The separation of men's and women's spheres ensures that women wield great influence in Rotenese society. Activities related to the subsistence of the family are dualistically ordered in the 'inner house' and 'outer house', the former being the female's domain and the latter the male's. Gender activities in the household are different, but are not hierarchically valued. Both men and women complement each other in the different activities in which they engage. Rotenese may trace descent patrilineally but to call it male dominated would be to overstress the power of men. By the same token men in the matrilineal society of the Minangkabau are not deprived of power and influence.

The third theme analysed in this thesis was the gender division of work in the inner house. Women's activities in the inner house were described in detail, giving emphasis to all activities performed by rural women. Women make important decisions for the benefit of their household because it is the women who manage the domestic finances and the distribution of the harvest. Nowadays, most of these 'inner house' activities can be developed as income-generating activities. Development of domestic skills has given an extra dimension to inner house work in that skills like cooking, weaving, sugar palm processing, poultry and pig breeding are marketable. This in turn involves men in marketing the products across the island .

The fourth theme examined was the gender division of work in the outer house. Work in the outer house is the domain of men, including agriculture, lontar tapping, animal husbandry and fishing. Certain aspects of predominantly male work involve women. Planting and harvesting, for example, require the help of women who are associated with these tasks. Such is the demand for labour at peak moments in the agricultural cycle that customary norms are overlooked and women work in the 'outer house'. The association of women with the 'inner house' is idiomatic rather than a complete reflection of reality.

Apart from these areas, traditionally women played no part in the outer house activities. Development is changing this, in that women can now have a career outside

the house. As women become more involved in the 'outer house' activities, so men may undertake duties in the inner house for example, minding children, so the complementary nature of dualism is maintained even under changing conditions.

The fifth theme was an examination of the impact of national development on Rote. Analysis of the data obtained shows that the rate of development on Rote has been very slow compared to other parts of western Indonesia. This is shown particularly in the figures given in the tables for socio-economic development in Rote. There are four main reasons for this backwardness. First, Rote offers little for educated people who consequently leave the island due to the lack of employment opportunities. Second, development projects cannot be implemented by a community with a high percentage of illiteracy and only primary education. Third, although local leaders and their followers are crucial elements in development, they are often not heeded by the Indonesian administration. The heads of subdistricts in Rote sometimes are not capable enough to lead the people in the rural areas, who have for hundreds of years been familiar with their traditional system. Traditional leaders are still respected by the community. Fourth, poor infrastructure results in poor communications and this may inhibit the development of women in particular because they are home based. It would be interesting to see whether this comparative disadvantage will be redressed by the introduction of communication facilities that reach into the home, the domain of women.

There are many problems in development planning. All decision makers or planners for development should have an awareness of gender issues, so that the implementation of development projects can realise their full potential. Consultants from outside Rote and from abroad often bring with them their own assumptions about gender, creating confusion at the local level.

I also propose that one important private sector activity which could be further developed is tourism. This industry has the potential to create work and offer women a chance to sell their domestic products. Industrialisation is not an option in Rote in the foreseeable future, and a combination of agriculture and tourism appears to offer the best developmental opportunities. Any development of tourism must ensure that the



benefits are enjoyed by the villagers rather than by middlemen. Experiences from other parts of Indonesia are instructive, such as the involvement of wards in Bali in organising performances and redistributing the profits. To develop a tourist project in Rote could be taken into account the interface between tourism and traditional culture provided by Sanger in Singapadu Bali (Hitchcock 1993: 10-11).

The final issue discussed is the role of Rotenese women in development. This chapter examined the issues raised in the previous chapter and discussed them with reference to social change and development and how this affects the roles played by men and women. For example, a woman who is a school teacher may have a husband who is farmer who contributes to domestic activities such as child care, maintaining a complementary dualism. Flexibility rather than hierarchical rigidity may help the Rotenese in the long term to cope with their tough economic conditions.

The social and economic condition of Rote after the implementation of the National Development Plan (*Pelita I to Pelita V*) was also examined. This chapter showed how women's activities are coordinated through women's organizations from the national to the village level. Women are involved in the development programmes through the women's organization. These programmes are implemented by a hierarchical political structure, which involves a long process before any practical conclusion can be achieved. Those responsible for planning think in general terms, which have little relation to the realities of village life; consequently, excellent ideas conceived at the top can be misinterpreted at the village level. Decisions are also often made in locations far away from where they will be implemented.

Even if such programmes are not as effective as they ought to be, women are becoming better informed, acquiring more skills and being made aware of opportunities for development. But since there is no comparable scheme for men, they are no longer as well informed as women. This creates an imbalance in society at odds with the traditional dualism and so the genders may in turn no longer complement one another if such trends continue. Gender awareness in development should also extend to men. A distinctive combination of local cultural patterns, national development initiatives and

new technology has led to some unique social changes. This thesis rejects the commonplace hypothesis that women are the automatic losers in modernization. The hidden suffering of women is not a necessary condition of development in South-East Asia. The true picture is much more complex with winners and losers belonging to both genders. Development alone cannot account for social change, and other factors need to be taken into account, such as the drive for national cohesion in Indonesia.

Rotenese men and women engage in diverse and varied activities but these are not hierarchical in nature. Both men's and women's contributions are not subject to evaluation and comparison since the combined efforts of both men and women are accepted as crucial for the well-being of the conjugal pair, the family and the entire community. Rotenese dualism in gender relations is compatible with the roles of both men and women in the community.

Although Rotenese society is undergoing change, the complementary nature of gender relations is maintained through Rotenese dualistic ideologies. The status of Rotenese women can be evaluated with reference to their wider social role. Rotenese women do not have a subordinate position in society because they are involved in the decision-making process and enjoy a degree of economic independence. They also have the right to make decisions concerning the management of the harvest for the benefit of the entire family. They also manage the family finances, whereas previously it was the men who took on this responsibility.

In the 'inner house' domain the woman manages virtually all the activities. Today some of the inner house activities generate income for the household, involving the women more closely in the cash economy. In marriage Rotenese women's status is enhanced for she brings with her property and her contribution to the family is valued. As a bride she brings property with her into her husband's house, which her husband may be entitled to use, but never to own. Upon the death of her husband she may return to her parents' home or remain in her husband's house. In this instance her independence is not curtailed.



For outsiders, the responsibility of the Rotenese women might be interpreted as a form of discrimination against her. For example, the amount of labour time contributed by the women to the household subsistence might be higher than that contributed by men. But Rotenese, both men and women do not engage in comparing their relative contributions or efforts for the family and household. These forms of evaluation can be imposed by an outside observer, but are not a mechanism which the Rotenese use to perceive or make sense of their gender relations.

At the ideological level women receive much respect from the culture in which they live. For example, women's participation in agricultural activities is highly valued. In rice cultivation only the women can transplant the paddy for they are symbolic of fertility in agriculture. Men help to carry and do the other activities related to agriculture but women do the transplanting. Rotenese believe that it was a female goddess who introduced rice cultivation to the people of Rote. Rice is a highly esteemed food and it follows that women too are respected. Because of such beliefs women are accorded much respect in their daily life and are symbolically linked to goddess and sustenance.

Women are also seen as keepers of tradition in, for example, activities such as weaving. Women protect their tradition by wearing woven cloths even in urban society. Only women know how to weave and design patterns, and know the meaning and significance of the cloths. Women are free to engage in creative and artistic activities and they express their freedom and independence in this domain most profoundly. Rotenese women participate actively in development projects, because they want to improve the standard of living of their families. Projects aimed at improving health provision to the Rotenese have also directly benefited Rotenese women. The participation of women in education has also improved.

Although most of the development programmes provided by the women's organizations are focussed at improving the 'inner house' activities, men contribute to the well-being of the entire family. It is not a question of whether it is the women or the men who contributes, but it is combined effort that leads to an improved life for all concerned.

Rotenese women are proud of the responsibility that is offered to them. The welfare of the family lies in the hands of the women. The education of future generations is entrusted to women, and the honour she receives is the main source of gratification. Respect is a valued quality in the materially poor conditions of Rote.



# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### Afschrift

No.22.

Extarct uit het Register der Besluiten van dan Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indie.

Buitenzorg 13 April 1877.

Gelezen de misseves:

a. Van den Resident van Timor van 20 December 1876 No. 1395, daarbij made deelende:

dat de grensscheiding tusschen de varschilende regentschappen op het eiland Roti, steeds oorzaak is geweest van onderlinge twisten, dievooral in den laatsten tijd toenamen en zeer dikwiils tet bleedigeoorlogen aansleiding gaven:

dat hij, ter beeindiging van dien teesttan tijdens zijn aanwe zan op Roti in December 1875 aan de verzamelde regenten en onderregenten ini overwegingaf om in overlog met den op dat eiland geplaatsten ci vielen gezaghebber deze aange legenheirt op nieuw te onderzoeken en te regelen:

dat die raad deer hen is opgevelgd, hebbende hij in het laatst van 1875 aan de aldus tet volkomen genoegen van partijen tet stand gebragte grensregelling zijne adhaesie geschenken door op plegtige wijze het Nederlandsch wapen to hechten aan ieder der door de heefeden op de na te noomen plaatsen gestelde granspalen, als:

- 1e. tuschen de regentschappen Baa en Termanoh een paal terplaatse genaard Bollok-Anak, wijzende met de eene arm westwärts Baa en met de andere Oostwärts naar Termanoh en een paal in het sawah vold genaard Leina, wijzendemet de eene arm Noord west ten Noorden naar Baa en meet de andere Zuid-Oosteen Zuiden naar Termanoh,
- 2e. tuschen de regenscappen Termanoh en Korbafo, een paal terplaatse genaamd Namoho wijzende met de eene arm Noordwärts naar Termanoh en met de andere Zuidwärts naar Korbafo,
- 3e. tuschen de regentschappen Korbafo en Dioe een paal terplaatse genaamd Mange Oen wijzende met de eene arm-Zidwest ten zuiden naar Korbafo en de andere Noorden naar Die/Noord zijde,
- 4e. tuschen de regenscappen Dioe/Noordzijde en Bilba (Noordzijde) een paal ter plaatese genaamd Heoinwijzende met de eene arm Westwärts naar Dioe en met de andere Oestwärts naar Bilba,
- 5e. tuschen de regentschappen Bilba, Landu en Ringgou een paal ter plaat se genaamd Lettendale wijzende met de eene arm Zuidwaart naar Bilba, met de tweede Noordwärts naar Landoe en met de derde Oestwärts naar Ringgou,
- 6e. tuschen de regentschappen Bilba en Ringgou een paal terplaatese genaamd Tauk Letten wijzende met de eene arm Zuidwärts naar Bilba en met de andere Noordwärts naar Ringgou,
- 7e. tuschen de regentschappen Ringgou en Oepao een paal terplaatse genaamd Bai Oein eok wel pols Leten geheeten, wijzende met de eene arm Westwärts naar Ringgou en met de andere Oestwärts naar Oepao. een paal terplaatese genaamd Haeros-Oein, zijzende met de eene arm Noord-west naar Ringgou en met de andere Zuid-Oest naar Oepao.
- 8e. tuschen de regenscappen Oepao en Bilba een paal terplaatse genaamd Loetee Apak wijzende met de eene arm Noord-Oost den



- Oosten naar Oepao en met de andere Zuid-West ten westen naar Bilba,
- 9e. tuschen de regentschappen Bilba en Dioe en paal terplaatse gennamd Loetoe Soh wijzende met de eene arm Noordwaarts en met de andere Zuid-West naar Dioe,
  - 10e. tuschen de regentschappen Dioe en Lelenoek een paal terplaatse genaamd Koetoe Lakain wijzende met de eene arm Noordwaarts naar Dioe en met de andere Zuidwaarts naar lelenoek,
  - 11e. tuschen de regentschappen Lelenoek en Bokai en paal ter plaatse genaamd Fatoe Kakaik, wijzende met de eene arm Oostwaarts naar Lelenoek en met de andere Westwaarts naar Bokai,
  - 12e. tuschen de regentschappen Bokai en Termanoh een paal ter plaatse genaamd Teketnaoe , wijzende met de eene arm Zuid-Oost naar Bokaie en met de andere Noord-west naar Termanoh en met de andere arm wijzende net de eene arm Zuid-Oost naar Talae,
  - 13e. t uschen de regentschappen Bokaie en Talae een paal terplaatse genaamd Loetoe Keowak, wijzende met de eene arm noordwaarts naar Bokai en met de andere Zuidwaarts naar Talae,
  - 14e. tuschen de regentschappen Talae en Termanoh een paal ter plaatse genaamd Nauk Menaloe, wijzende met de eene arm Oost Zuid ten Zuiden naar Taale en met de andere West-Noord ten Noorden naar Termanoh,
  - 15e. tuschen de regentschappen Talae en Kekah een paal terplaatse genaamd Owana, wijzende met de eene arm Oostwaarts naar Talae en met de andere West-waardts naar Kekah,
  - 16e. tuschen de regentschappen Kekah, Termanoh en Loleh een paal terplaatse genaamd Deoe Mapek ook gehegeeten Dala haik, wijzende met de eene arm Zuidwaarts naar Kekah, met de tweede Noordwaarts naar Termanoh en met de derde Westwaarts naar Loleh,
  - 17e. tuschen de regentschappen Kekah en Loleh een paal terplaatse genaamd Medek Pedah, wijzende met de eene arm Oostwärts naar Kekah en met de andere Westwaarts naar Loleh en een paal in den tuin genaamd Opelama wijzende naar Kekah als boven,
  - 18e. tuschen de regentschappen Loleh en Termanoh een paal terplaatse genaamd Siloe Lette ook geheeten Meoo Bolok, wijzende met de eene arm Noordwaarts naar Termanoh en Zuidswaarts naar Loleh,
  - 19e. tuschen de regentschappen Loleh en Thie een paal terplaatse genaamd Lanoe Makette, wijzende met de eene arm Oostwaarts naar Loleh en meet de andere westwaarts naar Thie,
  - 20e. tuschen de regentschappen Thie en Dela een paal terplaatse genaamd Tala Deka, wijzende met de eene arm Oostwärts naar Thie en met de andere westwaarts naar Dela,
  - 21e. tuschen de regentschappen Dela en Oenale een paal ter plaatse genaamd Tea Borong, wijzende met de eene arm Noord-West naar Oenale en met de andere Zuid-Oost naar Dela,
  - 22e. tuschen de regentschappen Oenale en Thie een paal ter plaatse genaamd Masa Oba, wijzende met de eene arm Zuid-West maar Oenale en met de andere Noord-Oost naar Thie,
  - 23e. tuschen de regentschappen Oenale en Dengka een paal ter plaatse genaamd Liter, wijzende met de eene arm westwaarts naar Oenale en met de andere Oostwaarts naar Dengka en eene arm Westwaarts naar Oenale en met de andere Oostwaart naar Oenale en met de andere Oostwärts naar Dengka,
  - 24e. tuschen de regentschappen Dengka en Thie een paal in het sawahpeld genaamd No Dale, wijzende met de eene arm Noord-West naar Dengka en met de andere Zuid-Oost naar Thie en een paal ter plaatse



- genaamd Singes Masing, wijzende met de eene arm Noord-west en westen naar Dengka en met de andere Zuid-Oost en zuiden naar Thie,
- 25e. tuschen de regentschappen Dengka en Lelain een paal ter plaatse genaamd Hook, wijzende met de eene arm westwaarts naar Dengka en met de andere Oost-waarts naar Lelain en een paal terplaatse genaamd Looa Mook, wijzende als boven,
- 26e. tuschen de regentschappen Lelain, Baa en Loleh een paal ter plaatse genaamd Takai ook Benah Danoh geheten, wijzende met de eene arm westwaarts naar Lelain met de tweede Oostwaarts naar Loleh en met de derde Noordwaart naar Baa,
- 27e. tuschen de regentschappen Baa en Loleh een paal ter plaatse genaamd Benganbatu, wijzende met de eene arm Noordwaarts naar Baa en met de andere Zuidwaarts naar Loleh en een paal terplaatse genaamd Oetias wijzende als boven,
- b. van den Directeur van Binnenlands-Bestuur van 26 February 1877 No. 2964 De Raad van Nederlandsch-Indie geheerd, Is geedgevenden en verstaan:
- Eerstelijk: De hierboven grensregeling tuschen de verschillende regentschappen op het eiland Roti (Residentie Timor) te bekrachtigen.
- Ten tweeden: Aan te teekenen:
- a. dat de langs de kust van het eiland Roti gelegen eilandjes behooren tot de na ten noeman regentschappen, als:
1. de eilandjes Ajana en Noosa-dana aan het regentschappen Dengka,
  2. de eilandjes Nusa Manuk, Lantene, Hoiliana en Dana een het Regentschap Thie,
  3. de eilandjes Oesoelain, Nusabibian het regentschap Landu.
- b. dat het eiland Dooh met de daarbij behorende eilandjes Daoh en Nusa een eiegen uitmaakt,
- Ten derde: Ten ale overvloode ter verklaren dat alle voorschere van besluiten en dokumenten omtrent de grensscheiding van de verschillende regentschappen op het eiland Roti door thans getreffen regeling dier en gelegenheid als vervallen meeten worden bescheuwd.
- Afschrift dezses zal worden gezonden aan de Raad van Nederlandsch-Indie tet informatie en extract verleend aan den Resident van Timor tet informatie en naricht.

Aan  
den Resident van Timor  
w.g. Winters  
(RB)

Accoord met voorschreven register  
de Gouvernements Secretaris  
w.g.P.P. de Clause  
Voor eensluindend afschrift  
De Civiele Gezaghebber van Roti,

## APPENDIX II

### PEMERINTAH DAERAH TINGKAT I NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

SALINAN dari daftar surat keputusan Gubernur/Kepala Daerah  
Nusa Tenggara Timur.

NOMOR : Pem.66/1/2.

Kupang, 28 Pebruari 1962

### GUBERNUR KEPALA DARAH TINGKAT 1 NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

#### MENGINGAT:

1. Bahwa sering dalam pelaksanaan tugas di beberapa bidang Pemerintahan dalam Daerah Tingkat I Nusa Tenggara Timur misalnja : pemelihan umum, sensus, landreform, penempatan Pamong Pradja dan lain-lain, diketemui beberapa kesullitan karena dalam semua peraturan c.q. Instruksi-instruksinja dipergunakan istilah "Ketjamatan dan Desa", sedang terminologi ini tidak/belum dikenal dan dipergunakan dipelbagai wilajah di daerah-daerah Tingkat II dalam Nusa Tenggara Timur.
2. Bahwa hingga kini dalam daerah-daerah Tingkat II di seluruh Nusa Tenggara Timur untuk wilajah-wilajah yang setingkat ketjamatan sebagaimana dimaksud oleh Pmerintah Pusat dalam pelbagai peraturan dan Instruksi-instruksi masih dipergunaakn pelbagai istilah misalnja :
  - a. "KEFETORAN" dalam Daerah Tingkat II Timor Tengah Selatan, Timor Tengah Utara dan Kupang (ketjual Rote di mana dipergunakan terminologi).
  - b. "NUSAK" karena istilah Hamente di zaman pendjadjahan menimbulkan keonaran.
  - c. "KENALAN" dalam Daerah Tingkat II Belu.
  - d. "HAMENTE" dalam Daerah Tingkat II Flores Timur, Sikka, Endeh, Ngada dan Manggarai.
  - e. "KEDAULAN" dalam Daerah Tingkat II Manggarai.
  - f. "KEKAPITANAN" dalam Daerah Tingkat II Alor.
  - g. "KERADJAAN KETJIL" di pulau Sumba.

MEMPERHATIKAN : 1. Keinginan-keinginan para Bupati/Kepala Daerah jang dilahirkan dalam konferensi Pamong Pradja pada tanggal 14 s/d 21 Djanuari 1961 di Kupang.

2. Rentjana-rentjana jang diadjukan oleh para Bupati/Kepala Daerah se-Nusa Tenggara Timur.

3. Faktor-faktor :

- a. Jumlah penduduk
- b. Luas serta letak geografis wilajah
- c. Hubungan-hubungan kebudajaan dan adat-istiadat
- d. Lalu lintas
- e. Susunan jang mudah dimengerti oleh rakjat
- f. Effesiensi.

MEMPERHATIKAN PULA : 1. Surat keputusan Menteri Dalam Negeri dan Otonomi Daerah tanggal 12 Djanuari 1962 No. 4/1962 di mana telah ditetapkan pemebentukan Polisi Pamong Pradja di seluruh wilajah Daerah Tingkat I Nusa Tenggara Timur sebanjak 64 Mantri Polisi dan 320 Agen Polisi Pamong Pradja.



2. Surat keputusan Kantor Urusan Pegawai tanggal 13 Pebruari 1962 No. B 65-1-31/AW 8-36 di mana telah disetudjui Polisi Pamong Pradja di dalam Daerah Tingkat I Nusa Tenggara Timur.
3. Kekuasaan untuk pembentukan distrik-distrik administratif di Daerah-daerah luar Djawa dan Madura menurut Byblad 140/46/II.
4. Peraturan Perundangan khusus dibekas NTT stbld NTT. No. 5 dan 6 tahun 1950 tentang tugas pelaksanaan (uitvoerende) dari Residen jang dipertanggungkan kepada Pemerintah Daerah sebagai tugas medewind.
5. Undang-undang No. 6 tahun 1959 pasal 15 mengenai Penjerahan tugas Urusan Pemerintahan Umum Pusat.
6. Penpres No. 6 tahun 1959 jang telah disempurnakan pasal 14 (2d).
7. Surat keputusan kami tanggal 15-12-1960 No. 81/Des 65/2/23 pengoperan perpajakan dan anggaran belandja Swapradja-swapradja kepada Daerah-daerah Swatantra Tingkat II se Nusa Tenggara Timur.

**MENIMBANG:** 1. Bahwa dengan surat keputusan kami tanggal 15 Desember 1960 No. 81/Des 65/2/23, terhitung mulai 1 Djanuari 1961, anggaran belandja dari daerah Swapradja dari daerah-daerah Swapradja di Nusa Tenggara Timur, telah ditjabut dan dimasukkan dalam Anggaran belandja Daerah-daerah Tingkat II yang meliputinja.

2. Bahwa menjelang penghapusan setjara formil dari Swapradja-swapradja jang masih ada di Daswati II Kupang, Timor Tengah Selatan Timor Tengah Utara, Alor, Flores Timur, Endeh, Ngada, Sumba Barat dan Sumba Timur, maka untuk melantjarkan Pemerintahan seluas-luasnja dalam Daswati I Nusa Tenggra Timur dirasa perlu membentuk wilajah-wilajah Pemerintahan Administratif (Bestuurs-Resorten) dalam Daswati I Nusa Tenggara Timur.

**MENETAPKAN :** 1. Membagi kedua belas Daerah Swatantra Tingkat II dalam Daerah Swatantra Tingkat I Nusa Tenggara Timur atas 64 (enam puluh empat) wilajah Pemerintahan Administratif (bestuurs Resorten) jang disebut "Ketjamatan" sebagaimana tertjantum dalam lampiran surat keputusan ini.

2. Surat keputusan/penetapan ini berlaku terhitung mulai tanggal dikeluarkan.

**SALINAN** Keputusan ini dikirim kepada:

1. J.M. Menteri Dalam Negeri dan Otonomi Daerah di Djakarta.
2. J.M Menteri Keuangan di Djakarta.
3. Kepala Kantor Urusan Pegawai (KUP) di Djakarta.
4. Dewan Pengawas Keuangan di Bogor.
5. Kepala Kantor Pusat Perbendaharaan Negara (KPPN) di Singaradja.
6. Pedarmilda 16 Udajana di Denpasar.
7. Para Bupati/Kepala Daerah di Nusa Tenggra timur.
8. Dan Rem 161 Nusratim di Kupang.
9. Ketua Pengadilan Negeri di Kupang, Endeh dan Waingapu.
10. Kepala Polisi Komesariat NTT. di Kupang.

11. Kepala Tjabang Kedjaksan Tinggi di Kupang.
12. Para Kepala Dinas/Djawatan Horizontal/Vertikal NTT. di Kupang.

Sesuai dengan bunji daftar tersebut di atas,

GUBERNUR KEPALA DAERAH

NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

ttd

(W.J. LALAMENTIK).



LAMPIRAN SURAT KEPUTUSAN GUBERNUR KEPALA DAERAH N.T.T Tanggal 28 Pebruari 1962 No. Pem. 66/1/2.  
 KETJAMATAN DALAM DASWATI II  
 SELURUH NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

NO. DASWATI II	TERBAGI ATAS KETJAMATAN	JURISDICTIE	IBU KOTA KETJAMATAN	KETERANGAN
1. KUPANG	1. Kota Kupang 2. Kupang Timur  3. Kupang Barat  4. Fatuleu 5. Amfosng 6. Amarasi 7. Rote Timur  8. Rote Tengah  9. Rote Barat 10. Sabu	Kota Kupang Kefetoran Babau-Tabenu Amabi-Amabi Gefeto Kefetoran Sonbait-sonbait Funai dan Semau Fatuleu Amfoang Amarasi Landu-OEpao-Ringgou-Bilba Diu Korbaffo Termanu-Loleh-Keka-Talae-Bokai- Lelenuk-Baa Lelain-Dengka-Thie-Oenale-Della-Nda Sabu	Kupang  Babau  Oenesu Tjemplong Lelogama Buraen  Pepela  Baa Oelaba Seba	
2. TIMOR TENGAH SELATAN	1. Mollo 2. Amanatun 3. NoEmeto 4. NoEllu 5. NoEbunu	Mollo Amanatun NoEmeto-NoEmuke-NoEbeba NoEsiu-NoEliu NoEbunu-NoEhonbet	Kapan Oinlasi SoE Niki-Niki Nipol	
3. TIMOR TENGAH UTARA	1. Insana 2. Biboki 3. Miomafo Barat 4. Miomafo Timur	Insana Biboki Aplal-NoEltoko-Naktimun-Nilulat NoEmuti-Tunbaba-Manamas-Bikomi	Oelolok Manufui Eban Kefamenanu	

(continue)

NO. DASWATII	TERBAGI ATAS KETJAMATAN	JURISDICTIE	IBU KOTA KETJAMATAN	KETERANGAN
4. BELU	1. Lamaknen 2. Tafsifeto Utara 3. Tasifeto Selatan 4. Malaka Barat 5. Malaka Timur	Lamaknen Tasifeto Utara Tasifeto Selatan Waiwuki-Rabasa-Unalor-Wederok- Haiimuk-Patuaruin-Manlea-Bani-Bani Wehali-Lakakun-Litamali-Alas- Dirma-Kusa-Mendeu	Weluli Nobel Halilulik  Besikama  Seon	
5. ALOR	1. Alor 2. Pulau-pulau Pantar 3. Kui 4. Alor Timur	Alor Pulau Pantar Kui Batulolong-Kolana-Puraman	Kalabahi Kabir Kota Baru Kolana	
6. FLORES TIMUR	1. Pulau Lomblen I Barat 2. Pulau Lomblen II Timur 3. Pulau Adonara 4. Pulau Solor 5. Flores Timur Daratan	Lewoleba-Labala-Lamabera-Kawela Kedang-Lewotala Pulau Adonara Pulau Solor Flores Timur Daratan	Lewoleba Belauring WaEwerang Manang Riang Kemie	
7. SIKKA	1. Paga 2. Nita 3. Maumere 4. Kewapante 5. Talibura	Paga-Nualolo-PalaE-Megoh Nita-Sikka Nele-Maumere-PuluE Wetakara-Ili-Wolokoli-Doreng- Heokloang Werang-Kringa-Waigete	Paga Nita Maumere Kewapante  Talibura	



(continue)

NO. DASWATI II	TERBAGI ATAS KETJAMATAN	JURISDICTIE	IBU KOTA KETJAMATAN	KETERANGAN
8. ENDE	1. Ende	Hamente Rodjo-Namente-Nggobe- Barai-Rukuramba-Martanda Selatan- Rewaranga-Ndona-Walotopo	Ende	
	2. Naggapanda	Hamente Naggapanda-Tanadjewa- Numa-Pulau Ende-Barai-Boafeo Selatan	Naggapanda	
	3. Ndetussoko	Walogai-Soga-Sokoria-Martanda Utara- Boafeo Utara-Timur	Ndetusoko	
	4. Magekoba	Hamente Pu-Nida-Ndondo-Kelewbo- Lise	Magekoba	
	5. Wolowaru	Hamente Lisedetu-Mbuliwa- Mbuliwaralau-Ndori-Wolodjita- Nggela-Liselowobora-Liselogondoria- Roga-Moni	Wolowaru	
9. NGADA	1. Riung	Seluruh Swapradja Riung	Riung	
	2. Nage Tengah	Hamente dalam Swapradja Nagekeo	Boa Wae	
	3. Nage Utara	Hamente dalam Swapradja Nage Utara	Denga	
	4. Keo	Seluruh Hamente dalam wilajah Ngada Utara	Mauponggo	
	5. Ngada Selatan	Seluruh Hamente dalam wilajah Ngada Selatan	Aimere	
	6. Ngada Utara	Seluruh Hamente dalam wilajah Ngada Utara	Badjawa	
10. MANGGARAI	1. Manggarai Barat	Manggarai Barat	Labuan Badjo	
	2. Manggarai Barat Tengah	Manggarai Barat Tengah	Ranguu	
	3. Manggarai Tengah	Manggarai Tengah	Ruteng	
	4. Manggarai Utara	Manggarai Utara	Reo	
	5. Manggarai Timur Utara	Manggarai Timur Utara	Lengko Elar	
	6. Manggarai Timur Selatan	Manggarai Timur Selatan	Borong	
	7. Lamba Leda	Lamba Leda	Benteng Djawa	

(continue)

NO. DASWATI II	TERBAGI ATAS KETJAMATAN	JURISDICTIE	IBU KOTA KETJAMATAN	KETERANGAN
11. SUMBA TIMUR	1. Sumba Timur I 2. Sumba Timur II 3. Sumba Timur III 4. Sumba Timur IV	Kamberakanatang-Kapunkuk Lawa-Tidak-Rekawatu Masukarera-Tabundung Melolo-Rendeh/Mangili-Waidjelu	Waingapu Pameta-Karata Nggongi Burukulu	
12. SUMBA BARAT	1. Sumba Barat I 2. Sumba Barat II 3. Sumba Barat III 4. Sumba Barat IV	Laura-Kodi-Tana-Righu Waedjewa Lauli-Wanokaka-Lamboja Anakalang-Umburatunggai-Memboro	WaEtabula Elopada Waikabubak Waibakul	

Mengetahui :  
Ps. Sekretaris,  
ttd.  
St. Ndoen



### APPENDIX III

Salinan dari daftar buku surat keputusan Gubernur Kepala Daerah Propinsi  
Nusa Tenggara Timur di Kupang  
No. Pem.66/2/4.  
Lamp.: 1

Kupang, 11 April 1968.

#### GUBERNUR KEPALA DAERAH PROPINSI NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

- MENIMBANG:** Bahwa sambil menanti terbentuknya undang-undang pementukan Kabupaten Rote Ndao dan Lembata, maka perlu mengambil langkah landjut dengan menundjuk wilajah Rote Ndao dan Lembatan masing-masing sebagai wilajah Koordinatorschap dalam Wilajah Hukum Kabupaten Kupang dan Flores Timur;
- MEMPERHATIKAN:** 1. Peresetudjuan lisan Bapak Menteri Dalam Negeri jang diberikan kepada kami selama berada di Djakarta;  
2. Instruksi Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 3/MDN/TAHUN 1964 tanggal 17 Pebruari 1964;
- MENGINGAT:** 1. Undang-undang dasar 1945  
2. Ketetapan MPRS No. XXI/MPRS/1966  
3. Undang-undang No.18 tahun 1965  
4. Keputusan/usul.Pernjataan DPRD-GR Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur tanggal 20 Nopember 1967 No. 34/Pernj/IV/DPRD-GR;  
5. Surat Keputusan kami tanggal 29 Pebruari 1968 No. Pem.66/1/23;
- MENETAPKAN:** 1. Menundjuk wilajah Rote Ndao dan Lembata sebagai wilajah Koordinatorschap masing-masing dalam wilajah Hukum Kabupaten Kupang dan Flores Timur;  
2. Penundjukan Koordinator bagi kedua wilajah tersebut adalah mendjadi wewenang Gubernur Kepala Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur jang diambil di antara para tjalon jang diusulkan oleh Bupati Kepala Daerah jang bersangkutan ataupun diluar dari tjalon-tjalon tersebut;  
3. Koordinator haruslah mereka jang telah mentjapai golongan F dari kalangan kariwan Pamong Pradja dan telah berpengalaman dalam bidang Pemerintahan paling sedikit 3 (tiga) tahun;  
4. Tugas Koordiantor ialah :  
a. Melaksanakan tugas-tugas Pemerintahan Umum Pusat  
b. Membina dan mengembangkan sumber-sumber jang potensiil dan serta mendjalankan usaha-usaha jang terarah pada pembentukan sebuah Kabupaten jang mempunyai otonomi riil.  
5. Dalam melaksanakan tugas-tugasnja Koordinator berada di bawah dan bertanggungjawab kepada Bupati Kepala Daerah mengenai hal-hal tehnis/administratif, sedangkan taktis operasionil kepada Gubernur Kepala daerah Nusa Tenggara Timur.

6. Kesulitan-kesulitan yang mungkin timbul dalam pelaksanaan surat keputusan ini diselesaikan oleh Gubernur Kepala Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur;

7. Keputusan/Instruksi kami yang telah ada sebelum surat keputusan ini ditetapkan tetap berlaku sebagian atau seluruhnya sepanjang tidak bertentangan dengan isi serta jiwa dari surat keputusan ini.

Ditetapkan di : Kupang  
Pada tanggal : 11 April 1968

GUBERNUR KEPALA DAERAH PROPINSI  
NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

tdt. EL. TARI  
Let.Kol. Inf. Nrp. 15733.

Salinan Surat Keputusan ini dikirim dengan hormat kepada :

1. Menteri Dalam Negeri R.I. di Djakarta.
2. Menteri Keuangan R.I. di Djakarta.
3. Kepala Kantor Urusan Pegawai (KUP) di Djakarta.
4. Dewan Pengawas Keuangan di Bogor.
5. Ketua DPR-GR. Propinsi N.T.T. di Kupang.
6. Kepala Biro Urusan Pegawai pada Kantor Gubernur N.T.T. di Kupang.
7. Kepala Kantor Bendahara Negara di Kupang.
8. Panglima Angkatan Kepolisian Daerah XVII NTT. di Kupang.
9. Dan Rem 161 Nusratim di Kupang.
10. Kepala Kedjaksanaan Tinggi di Kupang.
11. Ketua Pengadilan negeri di Kupang.
12. Bupati Kepala Daerah Kabupaten Kupang di Kupang.
13. Ketua DPR-GR Kabupaten Kupang di Kupang.
14. Bupati Kepala Daerah Kabupaten Flores Timur di Larantuka.
15. Ketua DPR.GR. Kabupaten Flores Timur di Larantuka.
16. Para Kepala Dinas/Djawatan Horizontal-Vertikal Prop. NTT di Kupang.
17. Para Kepala Ketjamatan se Daerah Kabupaten Kupang masing-masing tempat.
18. Para Kepala Ketjamatan se Daerah Kabupaten Flores Timur di masing-masing tempat.
19. Arsip.



## PENDJELASAN

Adalah sesuai dengan aspirasi politik dari rakyat dalam wilayah Lembata dan Rote Ndao untuk menjadikan kedua wilayah tersebut suatu Kabupaten Otonom.

Tetapi karena soal otonom daerah bukan saja soal politik tetapi yang pokok ialah soal realitet yang mendukung efisiensi dalam Pemerintahan.

Oleh karenanya perlu ditjari suatu modus yang dapat menampung aspirasi politik tanpa mengorbankan prinsip otonomi riil tersebut.

Tjaraanya ialah dengan menjerahkan persiapan-persiapan yang terarah mengenai :

a. Status Koordinator :

Koordinator perlu diberikan status dalam arti hak, kewajiban dan tanggung jawab yang sedemikian rupa sehingga koordinator tersebut sudah merupakan "Quasi Kepala Daerah".

Hal ini dapat ditjapai dengan ketentuan bahwa Koordinator setjara taktis dan operasional berada di bawah Gubernur Kepala Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur.

Kedudukan yang sedemikian rupa mempunyai arti yang praktis pula, karena menjamin kewibawaan koordinator tersebut atas Kepala Ketjamatan yang ada dalam kedua wilayah itu. Namun demikian tidak dapat dihindari kenyataan bahwa setjara juridis formil kedua wilayah koordinatorship itu adalah bahagian dari wilayah Hukum Kabupaten Kupang dan Flores Timur. Oleh sebab itu terdapat ketentuan bahwa dalam memberikan garis-garis kebijaksanaan kepada koordinator, Gubernur Kepala daerah Propinsi N.T.T perlu pula mendengarkan saran dan pendapat dari Bupati Kepala Daerah yang bersangkutan.

Dengan demikian berarti bahwa Bupati Kepala Daerah yang bersangkutan masih mempunyai oversight dan mengikuti sikap perkembangan yang terjadi dalam kedua wilayah Koordinatorship itu.

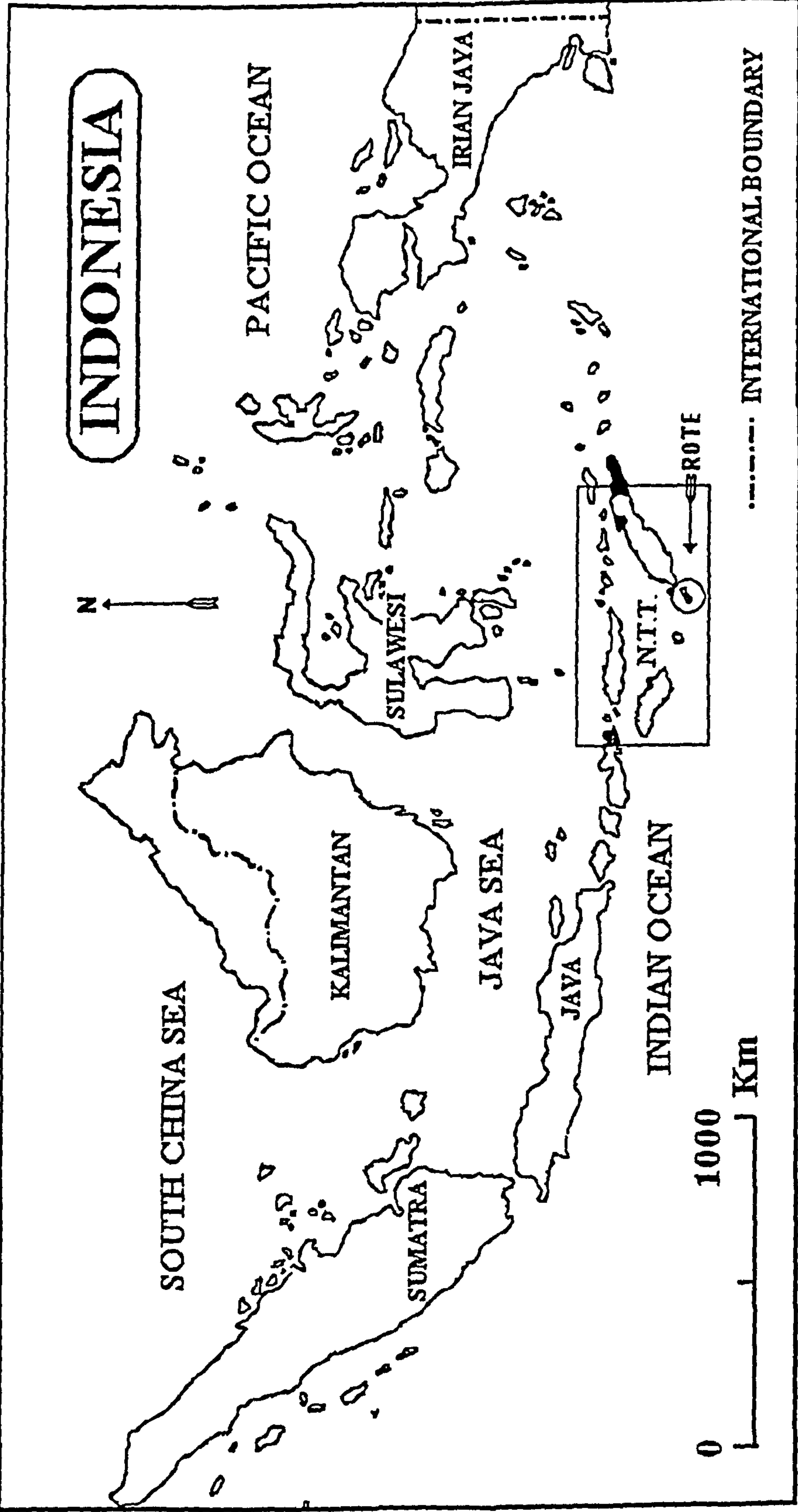
b. Tugas khusus yang dibebankan kepada koordinator seperti tertjantum dalam diktum 4b dapat dimengerti dari sudut wilayah koordinatorship yang dipersiapkan ke arah wilayah Kabupaten dengan otonomi yang riil.

**Appendix IV: Women's Organizations in Indonesia (Functional Organizations of Dharma Wanita)**

**Women's Functional Organizations 1974**

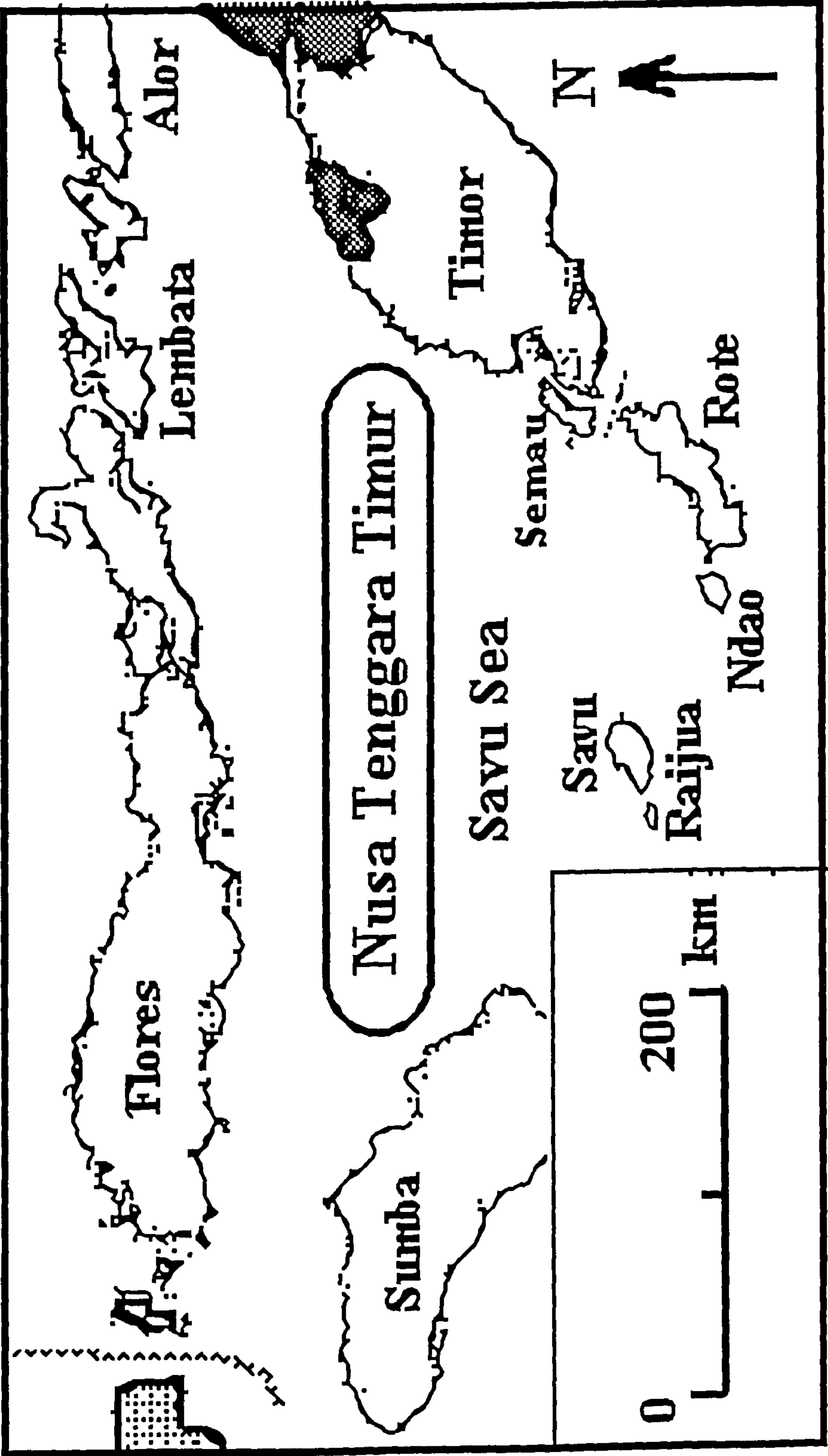
Name	Department	Year
1. Pertiwi	Home Affairs	1953
2 IIDI (Ikatan Istri Dokter Indonesia ) Doctor	1954	Medical
3. Ikatan wanita Kereta Api	Train Workers	1955
4 Adyaksa Dharma Karini 1965	Office/ Attorney General	
5. Idhata (IkatanDharmaWanita ) 1965	Education and Culture	
6. Dian Ekawati	Information	1966
7. Artha Kencana 1967	Finance	
8. Periksa Tani	Agriculture	1967
9. RIWPUTL (Rukun Ibu Warga Pekerjaan Umum dan Tenaga Listrik) 1967	Public Works and Electric Power	
10 RIAN	Industry.	1967
11. Tat Twan Asi	Social Affairs	1971
12. Niaga Eka Sari	Commerce	1973
13. Yustikarini	Justice	1974
14. Perwanida	Religion	
15. Aruna Mahesi	Mining	
16. Eka Dharma Santi	Manpower Transmigration and Cooperatives	
17. Sandhya Karamurti	Communication	
18. Bhakti Wanita Governmental	Secretary of State, Non-	
19. OWD Dutika Handayani	Secretary of Higher State Institution Foreign Affairs	





After Pickell, David (ed.), 1991.

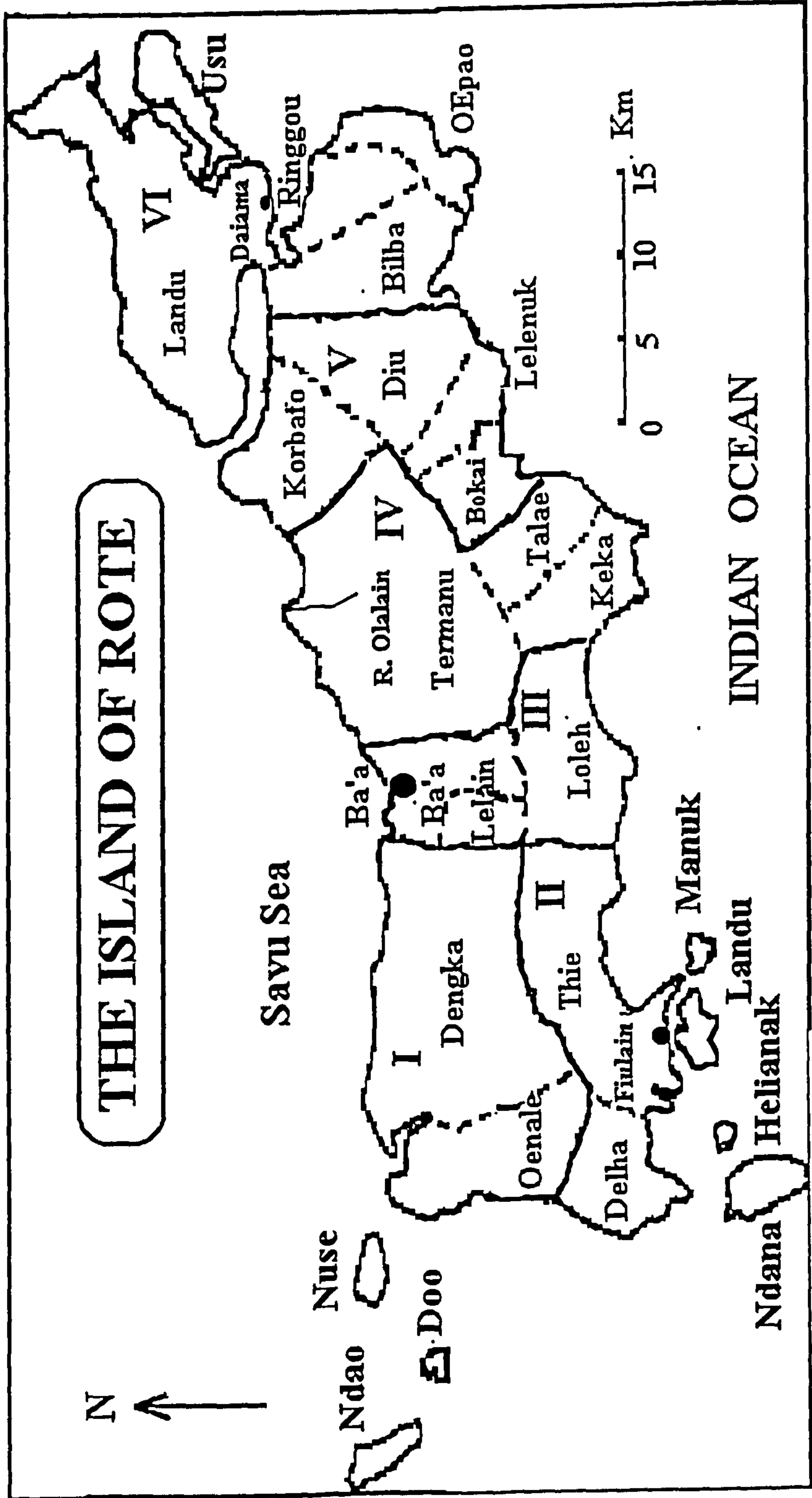
Appendix V: Map of Indonesia



After Pkk, TP., 1989.

Appendix VI: Map of The Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur





After Fox, James J., 1977:41.

Appendix VII: Map of The Island of Rote

## Appendix VIII: The daily activity of a Rotenese housewife in Rote Barat Daya

Time	Activity	Sharing with
5 am	Wake up, go directly to the kitchen and boil water, sweep the house yard, water the plants around the house. Make coffee or tea and simple rice porridge. Feeding the chickens and pigs	her daughter  her children or her husband
6 am	Feeds the children and husband, who goes to work.	other women in the house
7 am	After they go out, she cleans the house, washes the dishes and pans, collects the dirty clothes Fetching water, if the water is in a distant place. If the well is close by, she can do it while boiling water, and watering the plants	other women or boys, and husband
10 am	At the period of lontar tapping, she goes to collect the juice from the place where her husband or other adult man has tapped trees. Put the juice in the pot, set the fire of the 'oven' and leave it	
12 noon	Then prepare for lunch. Pounding the paddy, or maize if needed. Collect vegetables or buy at the market. Cooking, and sending to her husband if he is working in a field which is far from the house.	other women in the house  other young boys in the house
2.30 pm	Feeds the children and the family, washes the dishes and pots and cleans the kitchen. Weaving or spinning, or dyeing (dyeing in the Dry Season)	
4 - 6 pm	Women's organizations activity or other routine work such as: if she needed firewood (in the Dry Season), she can go to collect firewood with some of the adult children, and other neighbours Now, the firewood is mostly needed for sugar distillation, because the 'kerosene stove' can be used for cooking food or vegetables	older women in the house
	If vegetable gardens are far from the house they water the vegetables. Feed the chickens and pigs	if the garden is big she is helped by her husband or other household members
6-7 pm	Prepare dinner if needed. Some families only drink sugar palm juice at night, except for children and guests whom they serve with dinner	
8-9 pm		
9-11 pm	Clean the kitchen. When other people have gone to bed, the women are still doing something such as: finishing the sugar palm process, cooking coconut oil, spinning, or pounding the rice or maize for tomorrow (especially in moonlight)	

The timetable changes when her husband's work is in the outer house, in the field, lontar tapping, trading, etc. If he has to tap lontar, he has to go to bed early, and start his tapping at 4.00 am, working until 11.00 am (he has to take the juice as soon as possible before it becomes sour), she starts again for the afternoon tapping at 3.00 pm and works until 6.00 pm (stopping before dark, because it is dangerous to work after dark). If not tapping the man works in the dry fields (ladang) and wet rice fields (sawah).



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>APBD</b>	Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Daerah
<b>APBN</b>	Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Negara
<b>AARD</b>	Agency for Agricultural Research and Development
<b>ASI</b>	Air Susu Ibu
<b>Balita</b>	Bayi dibawah lima tahun
<b>Bappeda</b>	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah
<b>BKB</b>	Bina Keluarga dan Balita
<b>BKIA</b>	Bina Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak
<b>BKKBN</b>	Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana
<b>BKOW</b>	Badan Kerja sama Organisasi Wanita
<b>CMP</b>	Central Malay Polynesia
<b>Dasawisma</b>	Sepuluh rumah kelompok PKK di desa
<b>GBHN</b>	Garis Besar Haluan Negara
<b>GMIT</b>	Gereja Masehi Injili Timor
<b>Gora</b>	Gogo Rencah
<b>GOW</b>	Gabungan Organisasi Wanita
<b>IBI</b>	Ikatan Bidan Indonesia
<b>IIDI</b>	Ikatan Istri Dokter Indonesia
<b>IMR</b>	Infant Mortality Rate
<b>ISPA</b>	Infeksi Saluran Pernapasan bagian Atas
<b>IWAPI</b>	Ikatan Wanita Pengusaha Indonesia
<b>Kadarkum</b>	Keluarga Sadar Hukum
<b>KB</b>	Keluarga Berencana
<b>KBU</b>	Kelompok Belajar Usaha
<b>Kejar Paket A</b>	Kelompok Belajar Paket A
<b>Kowani</b>	Kongres Wanita Indonesia
<b>Kowani</b>	Kongres Wanita Indonesia
<b>Lobalain</b>	Loleh, Baa dan Lelain
<b>MCK</b>	Makan Cuci Kakus.
<b>Men.UPW</b>	Menteri Urusan Peranan Wanita
<b>MNA</b>	Merpati Nusantara Airlines
<b>NTT</b>	Nusa Tenggara Timur
<b>P2WKSS</b>	Peningkatan Peranan Wanita Menuju Keluarga Sehat Sejahtera
<b>P4</b>	Penataran Peningkatan Pengamalan Pancasila
<b>Pelita</b>	Pembangunan Lima Tahun
<b>Pesparani</b>	Pesta Paduan Suara Gerejani
<b>PGRI Seksi Wanita</b>	Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia Seksi Wanita
<b>PHKA</b>	Program Kelangsungan Hidup Anak
<b>Pokja</b>	Kelompok Kerja
<b>Posyandu</b>	Pos Pelayanan Terpadu
<b>PU</b>	Departemen Pekerjaan Umum
<b>Puskesmas</b>	Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat
<b>Repelita</b>	Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun
<b>SD</b>	Sekolah Dasar
<b>SMA</b>	Sekolah Menengah Atas
<b>SMP</b>	Sekolah Menengah Pertama
<b>Toga</b>	Tanaman Obat Keluarga
<b>TP PKK</b>	Tim Penggerak Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga
<b>TP PKK</b>	Tim Penggerak Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga.
<b>UB</b>	Usaha Bersama
<b>UP2K</b>	Usaha Peningkatan Pendapatan Keluarga
<b>Yapmas</b>	Yayasan Pendidikan Masehi di Sumba
<b>YKW</b>	Yayasan Kegiatan Wanita
<b>Yupenkris</b>	Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen in NTT (Protestant Church)

## GLOSSARY

agar-agar (lit. Ind.)	seaweed
ai	fire
ali dila ngauk	to take out the thorn
ama nak	father's brother
ama	father
ana fetok	female child
ana manek	male child
ana telutae	unlawful child
anan i belin fe inan	a daughter's bridewealth as payment for her mother's bridewealth
Atapupu	a port in Timor (lit. Timor, slave market )
au sangga	I look for
au uman	my house
bahasa Indonesia	Indonesia national language
bahasa Melayu	old Indonesian language
ba'i	grandfather
ba'i huk	ego's mother's mother's brother
bara sinik	levirate marriage
barat daya (lit. Ind.)	southwest
barat laut (lit. Ind.)	northwest
baru (lit. Ind.)	new
Batavia	the old name of Jakarta
beba	<i>lontar</i> stems
beda	to put/ offer
beda mbua dae	offering betel-chew of betel of betel fruit, lime and areca nut
bei	grandmother
bendungan (lit. Ind.)	weirs of water for diversion
betek	millet
bibi	sheep and goat
botok	sorghum
bou nitu inak	big sugar jar
bua ana fetok	bride's belongings
bua fua uma	gifts from the parents when a girl wants to move to her husband's house
bulak or bulan	moon
bulak fandu	the month when the palm tree produces a lot of juice for sugar
bupati (lit. Ind.)	head of district
camat	head of subdistrict
cuka	vinegar
dae duluk	the land of the rising sun or east
dae mulik	the land of the setting sun or west
dahena	people (east Rote )
dalek	inner
dapur hidup	plant grown at home especially herbs for cooking
Dawan	a tribe in Timor
deak	outer
dede	to light the fire
diik	pole
do	or
dode	feast for a marriage party
dode or mapola	a cook at feasts (east Rote)
dodo'ik	spars



ei	leg
elo	bride service
fadik	younger brother or sister
fe belis	give bridewealth
fe dak	give blood
fela	machete, parang; a long working knife
feto feu	sister in-law
feto oEn	sister's children
fufui	beans
Gebu Minang	a Minangkabau cultural organization
hade	paddy, unhusked rice
hade isik	husked rice
haik	buckets made of <i>lontar</i> leaves
hataholi or hatahori	people (west Rote)
Hendak anan	the son of <i>Hendak</i> ( <i>dae duluk</i> )
huk	origin, root
hus	thanksgiving ceremony for <i>Lakamola</i>
ifa	fold
iko	tail
inak	mother
inan anan	mother's children
ine mbu	fertility goddess in Flores
ita	we
jagung (lit. Ind.)	maize
ka'ak	elder brother or sister
kabupaten	district
Kale	poetic name of Rote
kapisak	box made of <i>lontar</i> leaf
kayu putih	eucalyptus tree
kebalai	Rotenese traditional dance
kecamatan	subdistrict
kekela teik	a ceremony held by mother's brother for his sister's daughter in the seventh month of her pregnancy
kepala desa	head of village
koto	small white flat round bean
kudu (lit. Sumba )	small
ladang	dry field
lafa	men's woven cloths
lafa ina	big cloth
Laha	the legendary leader of Rote
lala ei fanga	adopted as brothers
Lamak anan	the son of <i>Lamak</i> ( <i>dae mulik</i> )
lamak	locust
langgak namo	Harbour Master
langgak or langa	head
laru	a kind of drink from <i>lontar</i> juice
lasin	a group of older people who choose the <i>palani</i> or <i>manek</i>
lawar	vegetable or fish mixed with salt, chilli and vinegar
ledi	to tap the <i>lontar</i> juice
ledo	the sun
ledo do bulan	sun and moon
lelepak	a bamboo rod for carrying two <i>haik</i> on the shoulder
lemba	to fetch water
lena	sesame seed
lenggu bara sinik	a widow married to one of her late husband's brothers
leo	clan

lepa kai	traditional sweetmeat, a gift from the bride's family for the bride, symbolic of the great gifts such as land, trees etc. they give to the bride
lima	arm
liun do sain	lord of sea and ocean
lolo	stretched
lolu	traditional architect
lontar	palm <i>borassus flabellifer</i>
lurah (lit. Ind.)	head of urban village or quarter
mai	come
Majapahit	Hindu kingdom in East Java.
makambimbilik	invitation for sharing in the harvest especially for widows and elderly
Malaka	the name of a subdistrict in Belu
mamak	multi-crops garden
mamatek	death
mana helo	chanter
mana horo lasi	head of the forest
mana horo mamak	head of <i>mamak</i>
mana horo nggorok	head of a hamlet
mana horo tasik	head of the sea
mana losi	fortune teller
mana mafarae	he or she who examines and makes diagnoses, traditional doctor
mana nggai uak	palmist
mana tuse	bone-setter
manafe belis	they who bring the bridewealth to the bride's parents
manasonggo	a man who performs the sacrifice
manasole	a girl who takes the part of the goddess <i>Lakamola</i> at the thanksgiving ceremony for <i>Lakamola</i>
manek fetok	the female lord
manek	lord of <i>nusak</i>
mapola or dodee	a cook at feasts (east Rote)
maramba (lit. Sumba)	Sumbanese noble class
marungga	a kind of leaf vegetable
Marsipatura Hutama	a Batak cultural organization
be	
masuk sirih pinang (lit. Ind.)	Send marriage proposal with betel box
mbeda tende	a ritual to neutralize an infringement of marriage
mboku (lit. Sumba)	big
mbotis	wrapped
mbrani	see <i>palani</i>
mbule	seeds and seed heads of the traditional crops given to the Rotenese by Lakamola
mese	teacher
mone feu	brother-in-law
mone oEn	brother's children
mopuk	core of palm trunk
mutin	white
nafuli dak	'to drive away blood'; a ceremony to restore friendly relations
nasu	to cook
ndi'ik mukuk	'crippled ear'/incest
ndunak bafon	the top of a betel box
ndunak bolon	the drawer of the betel box
ndunak ikon	inside the betel box
ndunak maisik	a betel box with valuable things
ndunak	betel box



nebengga nggorok	announcement of marriage before a formal procedure of marriage
ngeu langgak	ceremony of head shaving
nekara (lit. Ind.)	bronze drum
nekebua	bride and groom are brought together in the marriage ceremony
nelaik	elope
nesao uma dalek	marriage between children of brothers or sisters; cousin marriage
netanek	proposal of marriage
ngoa	foolishness
nono	coconut, friend
nusa (lit. Ind.)	island
nusak	traditional domain of Rote
oE	water
ofalangga	the prow of a ship; also the name of a song composed during the Japanese occupation of Rote
palani	war leader
Pantai Baru	the name of a subdistrict of Rote
pantai (lit. Ind.)	beach
papauk	cross-beams of the roof of a house
pelak	maize
pembantu (lit. Ind.)	assistant
petin	trunk, box
puli do	he who knows the traditional medicine from plants; a herbalist
rato (lit. Sumba)	Sumbanese religious leader
ra'o	hearth
saiboak	fruit of the <i>lontar</i> palm
sao mba	lit. 'marriage meat'; the wedding feast provided by the bride's family after the groom's family produce the bridewealth
sasando	Rotenese musical instrument
sasaok	marriage
sekon muri	west side of the house
seu isik	scattered rice in a healing ritual for children
sinan	Chinese
sio	nine
soko	basket made of <i>lontar</i> leaves
solangga	Rotenese hat made of <i>lontar</i> leaves (east Rote )
sopi	alcohol made of <i>lontar</i> juice
susu oE	breast milk
swapraja	self-government (in the Dutch colonial period)
ta	not
tahani	waiting for
taka	axe
tanah kering (lit. Ind.)	dry land
teme	come from
tengah (lit. Ind.)	centre
tenggara (lit. Ind.)	southeast
tikar (lit. Ind.)	leaf mat
tilangga	equivalent of <i>solangga</i> (west Rote)
timik	lower jaw of pigs
timur (lit. Ind.)	east
titimuk or	cucumber or pumpkins
titimuk	
langga duik	
to'ak	ridge pole of the house
tondas	men's betel bag

to'ok huk	mother's brother of origin; formal status of male representative of mother's line
tou kabihu (lit. Sumba)	Sumbanese middle class
tu'u belis	to accumulate bridewealth
tua mbilas	the first <i>lontar</i> juice
tua	sugar
tuli	peas
tuti talike	marriage between cross cousins
uma	house/ household
uma nitu	traditional house of Rote; lit. house of (ancestor) spirits
uma tokadulu	the east side of the house
uma tuka muli	the west side of the house
waduk (lit. Ind.)	rain water catchment



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